

**The Women's Total Abstinence Union
and periodical *Wings*, 1892-1910:
A Study of Gender and Politics**

Gemma Louise Outen

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Abstract

In 1893, an internal schism occurred within the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTa), creating the National British Women's Temperance Association (NBWTA) and the Women's Total Abstinence Union (WTAU). The Women's Total Abstinence Union (WTAU) has since received very limited critical attention, having been historically dismissed as a conservative organisation, only concerned with temperance work, when compared to the more radical National British Women's Temperance Association (NBWTA). Via a critical examination of the WTAU's periodical, *Wings*, from 1892 to 1910, and associated Union materials, this project interrogates the presumptions made concerning the apparently conservative nature, aims and actions of the group and the women within. Contributing to the burgeoning research area of print and periodical culture this project reflects on how women managed the contradictions posed by gender – which shaped women as private domestic individuals – and political identity – when encouraged to undertake reform work outside of the safety of the private sphere.

This thesis provides an original contribution to knowledge through utilising an interdisciplinary methodological approach combining periodical culture with a study of community and gender. Its main contribution lies in the study of a neglected group, the WTAU, and their unexplored periodical, *Wings*. Significant research has centred around radical and/or conservative constructions of nineteenth-century femininity but the voice of the quiet majority in between, and their everyday experiences, remains largely underexplored. This project examines gender constructions within female reform work, specifically temperance, and argues that Union women used a respectable area of social reform work in a potentially progressive way. The WTAU was not solely conservative, nor was it instead radical, rather, its members, aims and actions can be placed on a sliding scale, encompassing conservatism and progressivism alongside radicalism. Moreover, this thesis suggests that this should be replicated for other female reform workers and groups more broadly, in order to provide a better understanding of the sector and how issues of middle-class, feminine respectability influenced women within. It also provides a contribution to knowledge in its methodology, utilising a three layered approach to address the complex issue of readership. It focuses firstly on a broad implied readership, secondly, using census research on a cross-section of Union membership, and finally, undertakes two case-study analyses of Union women on opposing sides of the respectability debate. In examining the Union and its members in three ways, this thesis provides a new way

of examining female reform work and periodical readership, and uncovers the complexity of the WTAU, situated within a wider connected world of campaign, print and platform.

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Introduction

In 1893, the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA) was in crisis. The president, Lady Henry Somerset, sought to amend the constitution from a sole focus on temperance. She asked the Association to instead 'do everything' and work upon 'all branches of social reform, such as the Labour Question, Woman's Suffrage, Peace and Arbitration, the Opium Question, and Social Purity.'¹ Although these other areas of work were contentious, it was the issue of suffrage which created most discussion among delegates at the annual meeting. Opinion was divided and a lengthy discussion was held on whether this in particular should be added to the remit of the group. Mrs Servanté emphasised her married status and stated:

As a clergyman's wife, I think I may say that through good and evil I have stuck to the British Women's Temperance Association. May I say that I hate anything like the idea of threatening or seeming to threaten; but should this resolution be passed here tonight, I shall be obliged from the fact of my surroundings, to withdraw from your public meeting.

Further, I shall be obliged to withdraw from public work.²

Mrs Servanté emphasised her position as a clergyman's wife, a religious woman, implying that this would forbid her working for the Association. However, she stopped short of explicitly stating that her husband would forbid her working, perhaps rather alluding to her position in society and her respectability, as preventing her carrying out this work. Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, a high-profile member of the group, took this further though and stated:

My delegate here will tell you that, when she left Ledbury, her husband said to her: "Now, remember, if the British Women's Temperance

¹ *Wings*, February 1893, p. 162.

² Minutes of the BWTA Annual Council Meeting, 1892, p. 35.

Association place the Franchise on their programme, I shall withdraw
[you] from the branch”.³

Lady Biddulph’s delegate was under the control of her husband, who would regulate her behaviour, apparently vetoing any work he believed unsuitable. Some women in the hall did not take kindly to this and Lady Biddulph was met with ‘loud laughter’ and ‘hisses’.⁴ Both of these delegates argued against the addition of other areas of work and both gave reasons concerned with gender and respectability. Jane Lewis suggests that the suffrage campaign split the world of philanthropy and the issue certainly split the members of the BWTA.⁵ At the meeting opinions were voiced both for and against the additional areas of work. Delegate voices were binary. Some believed that temperance should be undertaken in line with other areas of social reform, whilst others were adamant that temperance should be their sole focus. The delegate for Silver Hill stated that her branch ‘would have a great – the greatest objection to suffrage being tacked onto temperance’. In comparison, immediately afterwards, the delegate for St. Leonards stated their support for the adoption of suffrage within temperance work and that her branch felt that ‘the Franchise is a right and needed thing’.⁶ The Association was deeply divided in the matter, reflecting debates within wider society. In support of the addition, Mrs Jabez Carter stated:

Ladies, I have been for many years a worker for the Franchise. It is true that many women will tell you that it is unnecessary – they do not want it. Perhaps not; but they are the exceptions that form the rule. The easy-going, loving women, who remain shut up at home, may not recognise the deep need for it; but go into the East End of London, and you will see a thousand dreadful sights staring you in the face that are urgently crying out for women to reform them; yet this women

³ Minutes of the BWTA Annual Council Meeting, 1892, p. 35.

⁴ Minutes of the BWTA Annual Council Meeting, 1892, p. 35.

⁵ Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Aldershot: Edward Elgar, 1991), p. 8.

⁶ Report of British Women’s Temperance Association Annual Meeting, 1892, p. 49.

cannot do until they have votes. The women who do not want the Franchise are wilfully blind and they do not want to have their eyes opened.⁷

The statement given by Mrs Carter illustrates the key issue at the very core of this thesis: the tendency to label women as either solely conservative and stay at home, or solely radical reform workers. To Mrs Carter, it was unlikely that a woman could want reform and also adhere to the conservative middle-class gender ideology of the period. However, this thesis argues that female workers could be both conservative and progressive. They could work for change but also be concerned with reputation and respectability. It argues that there was a complexity in female reform identity in the late nineteenth century.

The gender ideology of the Victorian middle classes, that of separate spheres, provides a narrative of dichotomy; public/private, male/female, external/domestic. For contemporaries, the correct place for middle-class womanhood was usually asserted to be in the domestic sphere. Conservative women remained within the doctrine of separate spheres and as an emblem of respectable womanhood. To leave the home and the private sphere could be considered progressive, and further, even radical. These fluid terms can be problematic and the boundaries between them should be considered. This thesis defines progressive as being between conservative and radical. It is here used to suggest flux, a moving forward from, and challenging of, traditional gender roles. It considers reform women who left the domestic realm and undertook reform work, even tentatively engaging with political action. Many of these women can be considered progressive and not necessarily abiding by the separate spheres ideology. However, they did so with reputation and respectability still in their minds. They left the domestic realm perhaps with a single foot, rather than both. They were somewhat conservative and also progressive. Radical women on the other hand

⁷ Minutes of the BWTAs Annual Council Meeting, 1892, p. 34.

were able to transgress the private sphere and were often portrayed as more revolutionary, masculine and dangerous. These terms can of course be used in other ways, but in this thesis they are used to explore only one small part of gender ideology - the female reform worker. The woman discussed in this project was able to leave the private realm but did so carefully and not as fully transgressive.

Mrs Carter suggests that those women who were shut up at home, in the private, domestic sphere, and abiding by the conservative ideology of separate spheres, could not recognise the need for the franchise. To her, those women did not understand the full extent of the issue, they could not see the good that the Franchise would bring and allowed themselves to be 'wilfully blind'. Mrs Carter dismisses the women who were 'shut up at home' and there is a suggestion in her words that only vociferous, radical women are deemed 'worthy'. Fascinatingly, this view is often preserved in modern research. For example, on the issue of female suffrage, a great expanse of scholarly material exists, much of it focused around the most radical groups.⁸ Modern scholars often dismiss the cautious, quiet majority, instead focusing on the radical, vociferous minority. Yet, if the vast majority, often largely conservative women, had not wanted or supported the Franchise in an unofficial, subtler way, then it would have not been achieved. The work of the cautious, quiet majority furthered the cause, and yet these women are largely unrecognised or dismissed. The work of these women - who did abide by middle-class gender ideologies - is worthy of study. It is in their experience that a reality for large numbers of women can be uncovered.

In recent years, much work has re-examined the separate spheres ideology, breaking down the assumption that the spheres were strictly maintained.⁹ John

⁸ The work of Jill Liddington is of particular note. See Jill Liddington and Jill Norris, *One Hand Tied Behind Us: Rise of the Women's Suffrage Movement* (London: Rivers Oram Press, 2000); Jill Liddington, *Rebel Girls: Their Fight for the Vote* (London: Virago, 2006); Additionally, Martha Vicinus needs particular mention. See Vicinus, *Independent Women*; Other noteworthy works include Harold L. Smith, *The British Women's Suffrage Campaign 1866-1928* (London: Routledge, 2014); Laura Mayhall, *The Militant Suffrage Movement: Citizenship and Resistance in Britain, 1860-1930* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).

⁹ Martha Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1972); Vicinus, *Independent Women*; Patricia Branca, *Silent Sisterhood: Middle-Class Women in the Victorian Home* (London: Croom Helm, 1975); Joan Burstyn, *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood* (London: Croom Helm, 1980); Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987); Phillipa Levine, *Victorian Feminism: 1850-1900* (London: Century Hutchinson Ltd,

Tosh's work is of note here, as he argues that the home, the domestic sphere was not exclusively feminine, as understood within the ideology of separate spheres, but that it was also a space of Victorian masculinity. Additionally, the work of Megan Smitley on the 'feminine public sphere' should also be commended. She outlines a feminine realm where philanthropy, civic work, and charity took place whilst women were able to retain their reputation and respectability.¹⁰ The dichotomy of private or public spheres as solely feminine or masculine has been complicated and shown to be problematic. Yet, in spite of *this* re-examination, there remains a tendency to label women in other ways, namely as conservative or radical. This dichotomy now must be explored, complicated, and broken down in the same manner as the separate spheres doctrine. This thesis argues that women, women's journals, and female reform work at the end of the nineteenth century were extremely complex. Women could be conservative, progressive, and even radical at different points and concerning different issues. They could work across respectable and controversial movements, and to label them solely as one or the other is a disservice. The way that female reform groups and their journals constructed their female readers was problematic, often situating them as both domestic and political creatures. In examining female reform workers and the groups in which they operated, it is possible to see some of the everyday experiences of the quiet majority. This thesis will examine the Women's Total Abstinence Union (WTAU) as one group within this majority. Their concerns and actions are of note, and likely to have been shared by similar women and groups. Yet, the WTAU has been historically dismissed as an essentially conservative female reform group, only working on the respectable social cause of temperance. However, this label does not capture the complexity present in the group, the journal, or its female members.

1987); Judith Rowbotham, *Good Girls Make Good Wives* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989); John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1999).

¹⁰ Megan Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870 - 1914* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009).

The History of Female Temperance Work

In 1876, the British Women's Temperance Association (BWTA) was formed. It was the first female-only temperance organisation of national significance.¹¹ Until this point, women were able to undertake temperance reform work, but principally did this within larger, mixed-sex temperance organisations, as part of specific Ladies' Committees. From the outset, the use of the term 'lady' suggests that temperance reform work was an activity for middle to upper-class women. Lilian Lewis Shiman discusses these committees and states that 'their functions were what society accepted as purely female activities: teas, bazaars and children's work'.¹² Indeed, the committees were seemingly aware of the need for female respectability, defined here as of the middle classes, and with ideas of reputation and propriety in mind. Even in Preston, the birthplace of temperance, annual reports from the Preston Temperance Society in the 1870s show that no women were committee members and no women spoke at meetings. The singular mentions of women members within these reports show that from 1875 onwards, they were thanked at the end of meetings for 'presiding over the tea tables'.¹³ At first glance, it appears that women involved in temperance were mostly undertaking domestic duties rather than reform activities.

The impetus for the formation of the BWTA came from the United States. Mrs Margaret Parker (1828-1896) visited the American female-only group, the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), early in 1876 and was impressed and inspired by the work undertaken by its members.¹⁴ Following her return, the BWTA was founded later that year with the following mandate:

The object of the association is to form a federation of women's temperance societies existing in various districts within the United

¹¹ Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1988), p. 183.

¹² Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, p. 182.

¹³ Preston Temperance Society, *43rd Annual Report*, 1875, p. 14.

¹⁴ Kathleen Fitzpatrick, *Lady Henry Somerset* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1923), p. 138.

Kingdom and to promote the formation of others in the belief that by combined effort and united forces and funds, much greater work can be effected in the extension of the cause of temperance in the control and ultimate suppression of the Liquor Traffic and thus the moral and religious elevation of the people.¹⁵

The organisation was structured as a central national association comprised of affiliated local branches from around the country. The local branches held their own meetings and determined their own schedule of reform work, but were connected to the national organisation through affiliation fees and national meetings. The organisation itself was initially non-political, however, Lady Henry Somerset, (1851-1921), president from 1890, involved the group in political temperance activities, arguing that ‘anything that brings us in close touch with Parliamentary action, anything that forces our views, temperance principles on members of parliament ought to be adopted by us as part of our temperance work.’¹⁶ Margaret Barrow argues that Somerset moved the Association from the primarily moral towards the political.¹⁷ The executive committee believed that a titled lady would bring status to the organisation and envisaged Somerset as a figurehead, rather than influencing policy.¹⁸ Somerset, however, took a trip to the United States shortly after her election where she became friends with Frances Willard (1839-1898), leader of the World Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) and its worldwide equivalent, the World Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WWCTU).¹⁹ The WCTU was an American temperance group that undertook work within many areas of social reform and although temperance was at

¹⁵ *Wings*, May 1893, p. 198.

¹⁶ Qtd in Margaret Barrow, ‘Temperate Feminists: The British Women’s Temperance Association’ (unpublished PhD, University of Manchester, 1999), p. 79.

¹⁷ Margaret Barrow, ‘Temperate Feminists: The British Women’s Temperance Association’ (unpublished PhD, University of Manchester, 1999), p. 79.

¹⁸ Fitzpatrick, p. 146.

¹⁹ Francis Willard was a leading temperance voice in the USA and world movement. The leader of WCTU from 1879, she created the WWCTU of which she was the leader from 1890 until her death. Willard was an influential figure to Somerset and the two were firm friends, sharing the belief that temperance could and should be undertaken in conjunction with other social reform movements.

its core, it had a 'breadth of programme', key to widening its appeal.²⁰ Somerset was heavily influenced by Willard and sought to adopt this 'do everything' model of work, incorporating women's suffrage, the labour question, social purity, and the opium question.

Key members of the executive committee deemed this change unacceptable and made their feelings clear via the official organ of the group, *Wings*. Prior to the 1893 annual meeting, the executive published the following:

What British Women are really being asked to do is to abandon the sole and single object for which their Association is founded; they are asked to exchange this for an Association having a multiplicity of objects, upon which a wide difference of opinion exists, upon which harmony is impracticable, and which, by diverting thought, effort, and funds, into a variety of channels, must inevitably weaken their efforts for Temperance, and relegate it to a back seat among many social reforms, rather than making it the one, first, prominent reform.²¹

The executive's explanation focused on the practical implications of a 'do everything' approach. They claimed that by focusing solely on temperance work, they would be able to make a difference, rather than sharing their attentions across various causes. However, their objections may have been influenced by another factor. Women's work generally was still considered a potentially controversial issue, with work in causes such as the opium question, women's suffrage and social purity even more so, due to the contentious and political nature of these causes. Judith Walkowitz asserts that 'the distrust and contempt for women in prostitution extended to the "ladies" engaged in repeal activities'.²² If a woman was tainted by a controversial cause, she would have been drawn into disrepute herself.

²⁰ Ruth Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty 1873-1900* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), p. 13.

²¹ *Wings*, May 1893, p. 198.

²² Judith Walkowitz, *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 178.

The two sides engaged in a lengthy opposition, the executive using *Wings* to argue their position, whilst Somerset was accused of bypassing the executive committee and official organ and communicating with branches directly.²³ The animosity built over a period of months and the annual meeting in 1893 saw the issue come to a head as the groups confronted one another, leading debates which lasted for twelve hours.²⁴ The rank and file membership voted to adopt Somerset's policy and 'do everything'. The defeated members immediately formed a breakaway group and the organisation split into two, the National British Women's Temperance Association (NBWTA) and the Women's Total Abstinence Union (WTAU).²⁵ The WTAU retained the successful periodical, *Wings*, whereas the NBWTA adopted the *Women's Herald* (1891-1893), and, later, the *Woman's Signal* (1894-1899) as their official mouthpiece.²⁶ The aim of the breakaway group, the WTAU, was to focus only on temperance work as opposed to wider social issues. This was because, as Shiman asserts:

The women's temperance groups, like any other pioneering associations, ran up against the established social patterns of the day. Apart from a few talented and energetic females who were independent enough to fight for what they believed regardless of social consequences, the majority of women were reluctant to be involved in what might be considered unladylike activities.²⁷

Compared to the more radical National British Women's Temperance Association (NBWTA), the WTAU has since received limited critical attention, having been historically dismissed as a conservative middle-class organisation, only concerned with temperance work. However, as outlined above, the WTAU is

²³ *Wings*, February 1893, p. 162.

²⁴ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, p. 186.

²⁵ For the WTAU account of this see *Wings*, June 1893, p. 210.

²⁶ Olwen C. Niessen, 'Temperance', in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. by J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 251–77 (pp. 272–76).

²⁷ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, p. 186.

deserving of study. Women of the Union were products of the mid-Victorian period and yet, by the time of this thesis, the 1890s, the Woman Question was at the forefront of social debate and traditional gender ideology was increasingly questioned. The Girl of the Period had reached maturity, her successor, the New Woman, was an increasing cultural and social force, and gender debates were continually played out in the periodical press. Therefore, for women in essentially conservative groups, this was a time of great upheaval during which they had to balance reputation and respectability. The women involved in the Union pushed at their own boundaries of propriety and demonstrate the debate within late-century women's groups with regard to acceptable actions, behaviour and reform activities. Reform work in this period could range from the moral (focusing on working class mothers and children, female pledge signing campaigns) to the political (attending demonstrations, petitioning parliament) and included a broad range of activities. As the Union wanted to focus only on temperance, which was seen as respectable reform work, it may be expected that the group would focus more on social activities or moral reform work. Yet, in fact, as will be discussed, they began to push at the boundaries of respectability, undertaking political activities such as petitioning parliament, attending demonstrations and even representing/speaking at Brewster sessions.²⁸ This was undertaken alongside more respectable reform activities such as attending mother's meetings, running pledge signing campaigns and temperance summer schools. At other moments though, the Union appears to be a largely social group, coming together at drawing room meetings with tea and musical accompaniment. These differences in the mode of work undertaken demonstrate the complexity of women's reform work and that the women taking part in these activities were not homogenous. There were women who were more conservative, and sought to keep the Union solely

²⁸ Brewster Sessions were events held annually where licenses for the sale of alcohol were issued or renewed. These were initially held in private but after pressure from temperance reformers, these sessions were made open to the public. Temperance reformers recognised the importance of these sessions and would send petitions, lawyers and attend in person to attempt to block the granting or renewal of local licenses. For more detail see Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England* pp. 194-198.

focused on temperance, working within acceptable social boundaries. But, there were also women within the Union who were working across other movements, more progressive and more inclined to take part in political activities. To consider the group as a single entity does not examine the depth or nuance of the group, or indeed, the wider women's reform movement of the period.

Project Rationale and Structure

Temperance history continues to be generally underexplored. A piece of seminal work on Victorian temperance, Brian Harrison's *Drink and the Victorians*, focuses predominantly on the political temperance sphere, inhabited by men. It is the closest temperance scholars have to a general history of the movement, and yet it makes little mention of the BWTA or WTAU, the two largest female-only temperance groups.²⁹ More recent works situate temperance history in a wider cultural context of historic drinking studies and modern alcohol consumption. Virginia Berridge traces changes in attitude to drink and drugs, and emphasises the diversity in the temperance movement, as well as outlining the breadth of temperance literature created by the movement.³⁰ James Nicholls examines the politics of the drink question and argues that both historic and modern debates about drink are made up of concerns about social order, health, and economic responsibility.³¹ Paul Jennings develops these ideas further, using a similar framework and arguing that drink history 'reflects broader economic, social, cultural and political developments'.³² Both consider the pervasive nature of drink, evident in the contemporary discourse surrounding the 'drink question'. Other important works on temperance focus on specific aspects of the movement, including Annemarie McAllister's consideration of

²⁹ Brian Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians: Temperance Question in England, 1815-1872* (London: Faber & Faber, 1971).

³⁰ Virginia Berridge, *Demons: Our Changing Attitudes to Alcohol, Tobacco, and Drugs* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013)

³¹ James Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol: A History of the Drink Question in England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2009)

³² Paul Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English, 1500-2000*, Perspectives in Economic and Social History (London: Routledge, 2016), p. 3.

the working-class experience, her work on the Band of Hope and finally on the imagery and literature of the movement.³³ Yet, in spite of a growing interest in the field more broadly, there has been relatively little research on specifically female contributions to the movement. James Kneale briefly examines some of these ideas in his examination of the movement with particular regard to space, and asserts that the temperance movement represented a struggle over definitions of public space.³⁴ This work is relevant to this work and will be explored further throughout but with regard to specifically female contributions, work remains generally lacking. Nonetheless, key contributions include work from Lilian Lewis Shiman, Kristern Doern, Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, Megan Smitley, and Margaret Barrow.

Shiman's work is of particular note, outlining work within the early temperance movement before moving onto consider the 'great crusade' undertaken in the latter part of the century.³⁵ Moreover, it provides an overview of work undertaken by women and children within the movement, with sections on the Band of Hope and the BWTA. However, after considering the Association, and the schism of 1893, she affords little attention to the breakaway group, the WTAU. Others have considered women's work in the temperance movement more broadly. Doern focuses on the work of prominent women within the movement, rather than the majority, whilst others have undertaken national case studies.³⁶ Lloyd-Morgan has examined female temperance work in Wales. She notes a lack of support for the BWTA and WTAU, and observes that

³³ Annemarie McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class*, Kindle E-book edition, 2014; Annemarie McAllister, 'Onward: How a Regional Temperance Magazine for Children Survived and Flourished in the Victorian Marketplace', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48.1 (2015), 42-66; Annemarie McAllister, 'On the Temperance Movement', ed. by Dino Franco Felluga, *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History* <http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=annemarie-mcallister-on-the-temperance-movement> [accessed 29 April 2015].

³⁴ James Kneale, 'The Place of Drink: Temperance and the Public, 1856-1914', *Social and Cultural Geography*, 2:1 (2001), pp. 43-59.

³⁵ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*; Lilian Lewis Shiman, "'Changes Are Dangerous': Women and Temperance in Victorian England", in *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760 - 1930*, ed. by Gail Malmgreen (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1986), pp. 193-215.

³⁶ Kristin Doern, 'Temperance and Feminism in England, c.1790-1890: Women's Weapons - Prayer, Pen and Platform' (unpublished PhD, University of Sussex, 2000); Kristin Doern, 'Equal Questions: The "Woman Question" and the "Drink Question" in the Writings of Clara Lucas Balfour, 1808 - 78', in *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain, 1750 - 1900*, ed. by Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 159-75.

Welsh women instead preferred to work within specifically Welsh organisations.³⁷ Smitley has examined the work of Scottish women and civic duty with specific reference to temperance, concluding that middle-class women were able to subvert the notion of complementary roles and female moral influence to work within the feminine public sphere, a place of political participation and social activism.³⁸ Yet, for obvious reasons, these works only mention English female temperance organisations in passing. Rather, for an examination of female temperance work in England, the work of Barrow is of note. In her doctoral thesis 'Temperate Feminists: The British Women's Temperance Association', she undertakes an extremely detailed analysis of the BWTA, following the group from its formation in 1876.³⁹ She considers the schism of 1893, but after this point, she focuses on the NBWTA and affords little attention to the WTAU. She asserts that after the split, *Wings* became a total abstinence journal and that the Union focussed only on temperance and not on the wider social issues championed by Somerset. Shiman, in her limited consideration, also asserts that the WTAU made temperance their sole cause.⁴⁰ These conclusions have apparently negated in-depth study of the group. In her recent work on temperance periodicals, McAllister moves against this and argues for wider study of the movement and associated literature. She asserts that a case study of *Wings* 'draws attention to one of the most important debates in temperance campaigning for women' and that to read the pages of the journal between 1892 and 1893 sees 'a violent debate on beliefs and policy dramatically played out'.⁴¹ McAllister rightly suggests that more research is needed on the temperance movement and literature

³⁷ Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'From Temperance to Suffragism', in *Our Mothers' Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939*, ed. by Angela V. John (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), pp. 135-58.

³⁸ Megan Smitley, 'Woman's Mission: The Temperance and Women's Suffrage Movements in Scotland, C1870-1914' (unpublished PhD, University of Glasgow, 2002); Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870 - 1914*.

³⁹ Barrow, 'Temperate Feminists: The British Women's Temperance Association'.

⁴⁰ Shiman, "'Changes Are Dangerous": Women and Temperance in Victorian England', p. 209.

⁴¹ Annemarie McAllister, 'Temperance Periodicals', in *The Routledge Handbook to Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals and Newspapers*, ed. by Andrew King, Alexis Easley, and John Morton (London: Routledge, 2016), pp. 342-54 (p. 348).

more broadly, and this thesis focusses on one aspect of that, *Wings*, the journal of the WTAU.

Upon its foundation, the WTAU asserted that they would only work on temperance reform and appeared to withdraw from other areas of social reform and groups working within these. However, in the connected world of nineteenth-century reform, this would not hold, internally or externally. Chapter one argues that although the schism appeared to be a decisive moment, the group actually remained connected in subtle ways, discreetly co-working before undertaking open affiliation. It explores the group and its structure, arguing it was embedded in networks of journalism and reform work in three ways. Firstly, that the London location of the national office was important as the group sought to establish themselves anew. Secondly, that the branch structure around the country provided a physical network of local reformers, bound by the wider Union. Finally, the chapter examines the associated leagues of the group, arguing that these associations demonstrate a desire to work in wider nineteenth-century reform. Yet, there is a complexity in the branches and leagues. They were created to ensure success for the Union, but also managed to ensure that the national group was carefully protected and controlled from its London base. Chapter one also examines external connections, arguing that the Union undertook an ongoing negotiation to work within wider networks and connection. This section considers cross working and affiliation, arguing that the Union, although disconnected from the NBWTA, was still located within the wider world of nineteenth-century reform.

The journal of the group, *Wings*, was also situated in this connective space. Chapter two argues that it was not merely a temperance journal, but a lifestyle magazine. It covered issues such as domesticity and motherhood, alongside entertainment, and demonstrates a tension, also present within the wider periodical press of women as domestic creatures but also potentially powerful consumers. This section undertakes a contextual examination of the late-century periodical

marketplace, to assess the extent to which *Wings* utilised New Journalism practices and techniques used in the wider periodical press. It argues that in doing this, *Wings* was pushing at the limits of its own respectability. However, this chapter also considers the extent to which these efforts were successful. The periodical itself was reliant on a distribution network of WTAU women only, rather than a wider audience, and it was not commercially successful, costing the Union more than it made.

In adopting wider journalistic techniques and practices, the journal itself became a place of contestation and complexity, sending its female readers contradictory messages. Chapter three and four both consider the issue of readership construction, drawing on advertisements and census material. Chapter three examines the readership constructed by the journal, considering advertisements in two ways. Firstly, it examines cross-advertising, arguing that the Union used advertisements in *Wings* to reinforce their appearance as respectable, temperance reformers. Secondly, it undertakes an analysis of advertisements in *Wings*, assessing the construction of women readers. To do this, it focuses on appearance, health, financial authority and temperance identity.

This issue of readership construction is also considered more closely in chapter four, here using census evidence. This chapter argues that there are significant complexities and inconsistencies between the implied readership created via the journal, and the actual lives of some Union women. This section considers five components of female identity: age, marital status, motherhood, domestic management, and employment. These aspects have been selected as being available in census data. It compares this information with evidence from the journal, demonstrating that the implied readership created by *Wings* is not reflective of the complexity within the lives of the Union women located.

Finally, in chapter five, the mode of reform work undertaken by the Union is considered. Temperance was seen as an essentially respectable, middle-class movement, and therefore suitable for women to take part. However, is overly

simplistic. This section explores Harrison's division of 'moral suasion' and 'legislative compulsion', arguing that the Union and *Wings* provided women with contradictory messages as they were encouraged to undertake both respectable, moral suasion reform and, more controversially, political temperance work and the teaching of quasi-political skills to female reform workers.⁴² These issues are explored further via an examination of real women of the Union. This chapter examines interviews with Union women, located on the front page of each monthly issue, as well as undertaking case studies of two key women of the Union, Miss Fanny Forsaith and Lady Elizabeth Biddulph. This chapter argues that the reality of women and women's work in the Union was complex and multi-faceted. Principally, this thesis argues that the networks and contradictions discussed throughout demonstrate the complexity of women's work in the late nineteenth century and that women's work, groups, journals and women themselves can be considered as disrupting the dichotomies of radical and conservative.

Temperance

The temperance movement was the largest social reform movement of the nineteenth century. Crucially to this work, it must be noted at the outset that there are problems with the very term 'temperance movement'. These have been discussed by McAllister, who states that 'there was not really one identifiable form of "temperance."' Rather, 'it was an overarching movement incorporating many different groups. Some were more conservative, but many more were much more radical, and to talk of a "temperance movement" runs the risk of ignoring these important differences.'⁴³ Groups involved in the movement had different origins and stances and could be working class, middle class, political, partisan, conservative, radical, male and/or female only. This diversity can be problematic when referring to the temperance

⁴² Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 19.

⁴³ McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class*. (Ch. preface, Location 71).

movement and it must be noted that this thesis does not seek to address each of these aspects. Rather, this work bears in mind the diversity, but focuses on the work of the Victorian female middle classes, working in women-only organisations at the end of the century. The WTAU were a group concerned with total abstinence and teetotalism, but throughout this thesis, 'temperance' and 'temperance movement' will be used to encompass temperance, teetotalism, and total abstinence.

Historically, alcohol consumption in the United Kingdom was 'as innocuous a part of the daily regimen as bread, although its role was just as easily ceremonially inflated to become the festive libation at dances, country fairs, christenings and race meetings'.⁴⁴ England was a nation where alcohol was associated with celebration and good hospitality and, in the pre-industrial period, its consumption was rarely considered a cause for concern, with heavy drinking common amongst the lower and upper classes alike. Shiman states that 'it was a man's right to get drunk if he wanted to' and that 'drunkenness carried no social stigma'.⁴⁵ However, throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, controls were relaxed as the government lifted monopolies and allowed anyone to distil and sell spirits.⁴⁶ Subsequently, a gin craze seized the country and by 1730 annual consumption of gin was estimated at 88 pints per adult.⁴⁷ Nicholls asserts that the gin craze produced a variety of fears; 'the fear of crime, the fear of economic collapse, the fear of moral decay, and the fear of political instability'.⁴⁸ The panic sparked by this unprecedented level of consumption prompted authorities to try and control gin intake and curb public drunkenness. As well as imposing new duties and laws in an attempt to curb consumption, temperance propaganda was also published, the most famous perhaps being Hogarth's *Beer Street* and *Gin Lane*.

⁴⁴ Stuart Walton, *Out of It: A Cultural History of Intoxication* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 2001), p. 199.

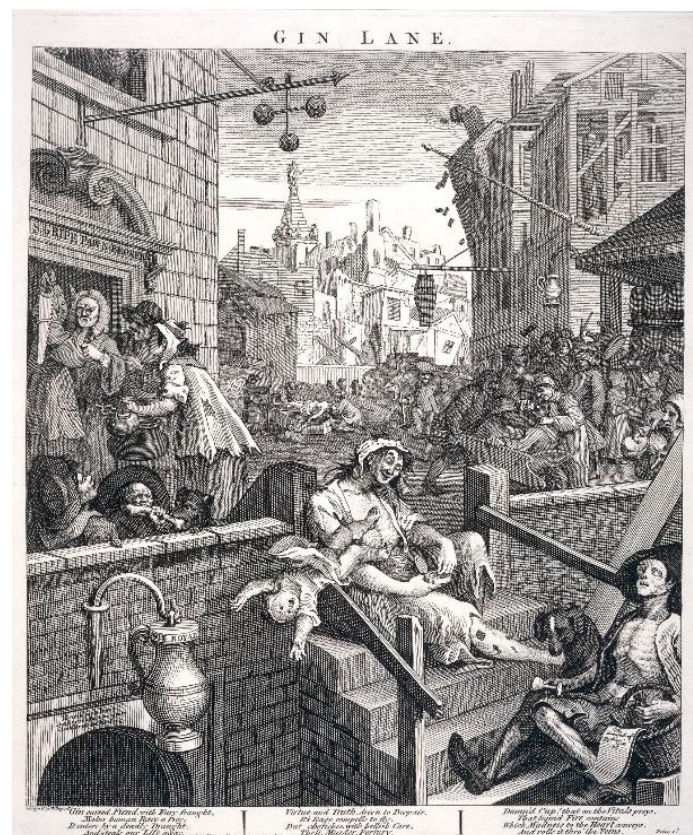
⁴⁵ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, p. 2.

⁴⁶ Norman Longmate, *The Water-Drinkers* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1968), pp. 9-10.

⁴⁷ McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class*. (Ch. 1, Location 138).

⁴⁸ James Nicholls, 'Gin Lane Revisited: Intoxication and Society in the Gin Epidemic', *Journal for Cultural Research*, 7:2 (2003), pp. 125-146 (p. 128-9).

Fig 0.1 - William Hogarth, *Beer Street and Gin Lane*, 1751.



In these well-known images, the residents of *Gin Lane* are portrayed as drunken, feckless characters drinking themselves to an early grave, whilst one mother is so intoxicated that she inadvertently throws her child to its death. In comparison, the residents of *Beer Street* are well fed and prosperous, supposedly demonstrating the benefits of beer over gin. This encouragement of beer over gin came to pass in the 1830 Beerhouse Act which made beer cheaper and more widely available in an attempt to provide 'the poor and working classes of the community a chance of obtaining a better, cheaper, and a more wholesome beverage.'⁴⁹ However, rather than reducing drunkenness, it continued to increase, ever more at odds with the emerging culture of industrialisation. Practices of Saint Monday were already in decline in the early nineteenth century as employers sought to formalise working hours and curb what they considered unacceptable excesses.⁵⁰ Rather, self-discipline, regularity and sobriety were encouraged, alongside practices of rational recreation. Although largely neglected for many years, the history of alcohol consumption was considered at length in Harrison's ground-breaking *Drink and the Victorians*. Crucially, he argues that scholars accustomed to modern class relations may see the temperance movement as an attempt 'to impose middle-class manners on the working class[es]'.⁵¹ He states that this is overly simplistic and that the middle-classes were helped in their temperate mission by others of the same class but also by an 'elite of working men'.⁵² Indeed, the work of Joseph Livesey (1794-1884) and the Preston workers, demonstrate this. Livesey was a local working-class merchant who began to spread a message of total abstinence in Preston and the surrounding area in the early 1830s. In its infancy, temperance preached moderation and Nicholls states that 'none of the temperance societies which were formed between 1829 and

⁴⁹ John Calcraft speaking in House of Commons, Sale of Beer Bill, Qtd in Longmate, p. 20.

⁵⁰ 'Saint Monday' refers to the practice amongst workers of taking a Monday off, in lieu of a weekend. This was then spent in drinking and conviviality rather than work. For more details see Douglas Reid, 'The Decline of Saint Monday 1766-1876', *Past and Present*, 71 (1976), 76-101.

⁵¹ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 24.

⁵² Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 24.

1831 preached total abstinence'.⁵³ Joseph Livesey however, developed a message of total abstinence. It was this message which became increasingly popular as 'from the 1840s the majority of organisations, and pledges signed, took it to imply total abstinence, and for most of the people in the movement that is what the word came to mean.'⁵⁴ This move from moderation to abstinence was led by the working classes. Indeed, McAllister asserts that 'teetotalism was a movement of working people taking action to change their own lives, and it certainly sprang from criticism of the existing social and political order.'⁵⁵ Temperance can be seen as a middle-class movement, focused around moderation, whilst teetotalism certainly began as a working-class movement.

This working-class tendency to change their own lives must be considered in line with the rise of rational recreation and changes in leisure practices. Activities such as reading, education and organised sport were 'rational recreations' and Peter Borsay argues that from the mid-Victorian period onwards, rational recreation activities such as these 'conceived of leisure as a vehicle for character building and self-improvement'.⁵⁶ To continue with the excessive drinking practices of old would have been at odds with this new rational, self-improving mindset. The foundation of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union (CIU) in 1862, a key space for working class recreation, was initially founded to 'free the labouring classes from the public house by establishing clubs free from intoxicating drinks'.⁵⁷ The working man could visit a social environment and remain teetotal, in line with self-improving practices. McAllister considers the benefits of teetotalism to the working classes, asserting that for many, teetotalism led to respectability and to some degree, a conversion to middle-class status.⁵⁸ This reveals the complexity across the movement. Temperance

⁵³ Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 98.

⁵⁴ McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class*. (Ch. preface, Location 85).

⁵⁵ McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class*. (Ch. 7, Location 1540).

⁵⁶ Peter Borsay, *A History of Leisure* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2006), p. 90.

⁵⁷ Brian Bennisson, 'Working Men's Clubs Breweries (United Kingdom)', ed. by Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO Ltd, 2003), 687-88 (p. 687).

⁵⁸ McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class. Demon Drink*. (Ch. 7, Location 1567).

began as a middle-class movement, focusing on moderation, but with the work of Livesey, and in line with a Victorian self-improving ethos, the teetotalism of the working classes became pervasive. This teetotalism was then adopted more broadly throughout the movement, both by working and middle class reformers. In turn, the working classes abiding by teetotalism were able to take advantage of a new form of social mobility.

Yet, by the mid-nineteenth century, temperance was no longer simply a choice to be made on an individual basis. Nicholls considers temperance across the Atlantic and asserts that the passing of the Maine Law in the United States 'reignited the fire of British temperance campaigning'.⁵⁹ Subsequently, the foundation of the United Kingdom Alliance in 1853, meant that the movement began to work towards the outlawing of all intoxicating drinks. It was this shift in focus which 'divided the temperance movement into moral suasionists and legislative compulsionists: education versus prohibition'.⁶⁰ The movement was seized by vested interests. This divide between moral and legislative reform was the reason that women were able to enter into temperance reform in a meaningful way. Middle-class women were able to visit the poor and encourage 'industry, frugality, temperance, cleanliness and religion'.⁶¹ Women were deemed, under the period's hegemonic pervasive domestic ideology, to be responsible for the morality and wellbeing of both their own family and wider society. As temperance was 'integrally linked to wider issues such as the "moral" salvation of society', women were enabled to take part.⁶²

Female philanthropy had become a widespread expectation by the end of the century and many works have considered this field of female work, albeit not specifically temperance focused, at length. Martha Vicinus has examined this at

⁵⁹ Nicholls, *The Politics of Alcohol*, p. 114.

⁶⁰ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 19.

⁶¹ Frank Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980), p. 112.

⁶² Doern, 'Equal Questions: The "Woman Question" and the "Drink Question" in the Writings of Clara Lucas Balfour, 1808 - 78', pp. 159-60.

length, asserting that 'philanthropy had traditionally been women's particular concern, and its definition during the nineteenth century was broadened to include virtually every major social problem'.⁶³ Women became responsible for a variety of topics, all linked to the moral salvation of society. Judith Rowbotham claims that 'ladies were presumed to be able to apply their personal experience of running a house and servants efficiently to the questions of social justice and the correct levels of financial relief amongst the poor'.⁶⁴ Walkowitz has re-examined traditional notions of women's role in the nineteenth century, arguing that women's philanthropy enabled a move beyond their own private sphere and that they were enabled to enter the private sphere of the lower classes, their homes.⁶⁵ Frank Prochaska considers the religious and economic implications of this work and argues that the pragmatic nature of women's charitable work, and their 'genius for fund-raising and organisation', 'fundamentally altered the shape and the course of philanthropy'.⁶⁶ Deborah Epstein Nord takes this further and suggests that 'entering the homes of the poor had become an accepted duty of middle class women'.⁶⁷ Ellen Jordan considers philanthropy as a type of female employment, suggesting that women undertaking voluntary work received considerable training, but also acknowledges the dispute over this position, as 'the legitimacy of women's participation in philanthropic activity was still being discussed and disputed'.⁶⁸ Dorice Williams Elliott considers the contradictory perceptions of female philanthropy and moves beyond the ideas outlined by Walkowitz, Prochaska and Epstein Nord and argues that women undertaking philanthropic work, changed the very perception and representation of women's

⁶³ Martha Vicinus, 'Introduction: New Trends in the Study of the Victorian Woman', in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. by Martha Vicinus (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1977), p. x.

⁶⁴ Rowbotham, p. 253.

⁶⁵ Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight* (London: Virago Press, 1992), p. 52-59. For further work by Walkowitz on female philanthropy see *Prostitution and Victorian Society: Women, Class and the State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

⁶⁶ Prochaska, p. 223.

⁶⁷ Deborah Epstein Nord, *Walking the Victorian Streets* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 208.

⁶⁸ Ellen Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (London: Routledge, 1999), p. 98-105.

nature, as well as of female philanthropy.⁶⁹ Daniel Siegel also builds on foundational work outlined above and considers the issue of condescension in female charity and philanthropy, arguing that this disrupted hegemonic understandings of patronage, gender, and class.⁷⁰ These works, although not related specifically to temperance work, inform and underpin understandings of female reform work more broadly. Women philanthropic workers used acceptable notions of female duty and morality to undertake within this realm, outside of the traditional domestic sphere.

It is noteworthy though that the majority of women involved in the early temperance movement did not necessarily advocate for greater freedoms or social revolution and thus were widely allowed and accepted within the movement. In some cases, they even wrote pamphlets and articles extolling the virtues of temperance heroines who 'reinforced the female stereotype'.⁷¹ However, there were women who broke these barriers, such as Clara Lucas Balfour. Although well-known for her work on temperance, as a prolific writer and speaker, Balfour wrote on the 'woman question' as she ensured that the 'relationship between women's social role, individual moral and religious salvation and the transformation of society at large, were at the centre of all of [her] work.'⁷² She was elected as the first President of the BWTA in 1877 and in fact, Doern argues that due to the work of Balfour and the BWTA, many women became involved with the wider struggle for emancipation.⁷³

By the end of the century, the legislative compulsionists had faced several key defeats and Shiman asserts that 'after a period of high activity covering almost three decades, the temperance movement was declining'.⁷⁴ Berridge takes a more nuanced view of the movement and asserts that although the movement began as moral

⁶⁹ Dorice Williams Elliott, *The Angel Out of the House: Philanthropy and Gender in Nineteenth-Century England* (Virginia, University of Virginia Press, 2002).

⁷⁰ Daniel Siegel, *Charity and Condescension: Victorian Literature and the Dilemmas of Philanthropy* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2012), p. 29-35.

⁷¹ Shiman, "'Changes Are Dangerous': Women and Temperance in Victorian England", p. 197.

⁷² Doern, 'Equal Questions: The "Woman Question" and the "Drink Question" in the Writings of Clara Lucas Balfour, 1808 - 78', p. 165.

⁷³ Doern, 'Equal Questions: The "Woman Question" and the "Drink Question" in the Writings of Clara Lucas Balfour, 1808 - 78', p. 170.

⁷⁴ Shiman, *Crusade Against Drink in Victorian England*, p. 240.

suasion, it developed into political tactics and then further, at the end of the century, some campaigners took account of international case studies to argue for a Gothenburg system, taking the trade interest out of the sale of alcohol.⁷⁵ In line with a more nuanced understanding, this thesis proposes that there is certainly a distinction to be made in the development of the movement. The legislative temperance movement was perhaps in decline after parliamentary defeats, but throughout the period of this thesis, the WTAU continued to expand and attract new members. Moral suasion, as outlined by Harrison, certainly continued. This is also demonstrated by the continued growth of children's temperance groups such as the Band of Hope.⁷⁶ Women of the middle classes were able to take advantage of continuing gains in women's emancipation and undertake public philanthropy and reform work. Berridge asserts that 'temperance was one of the first organised activities in which women found a role in public life'.⁷⁷ Yet, in reality, women's temperance groups undertook temperance reform in neither a solely moral nor solely legislative way. Rather, they were able to use the guise of respectable temperance reform to complicate the issue of women's reform work at the end of the century.

Wings

In 1883, the BWTA founded the *British Women's Temperance Journal (BWTJ)* (1883-1892) to disseminate temperance information and to communicate with branches. This was initially launched 'in co-operation with the male proprietors and editors of *The Crusade* (1873-84)'.⁷⁸ As was often the case in a supposedly female-only space, men held editorial control. Just over a year later, it became an independent paper, 'albeit under the same male owners and editors...*The Crusade* then being

⁷⁵ Berridge, *Demons: Our Changing Attitudes*, p. 38-47

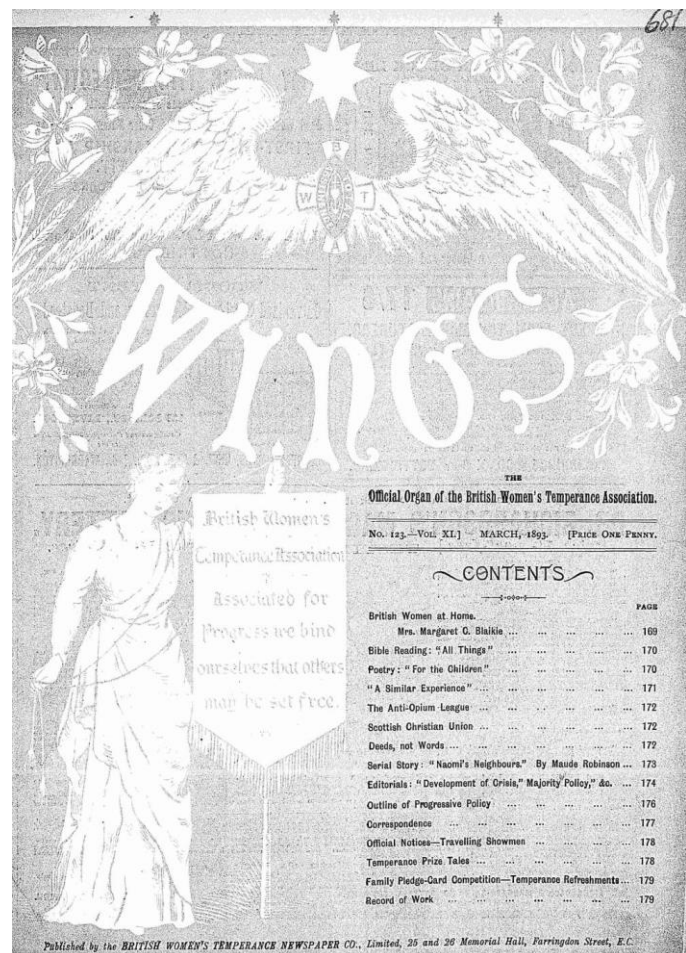
⁷⁶ For a discussion on the Band of Hope and its journal, see Lilian Lewis Shiman, 'The Band of Hope Movement: Respectable Recreation for Working-Class Children', *Victorian Studies*, 17.1 (1973), 49-74; and Annemarie McAllister, 'Onward: How a Regional Temperance Magazine for Children Survived and Flourished in the Victorian Marketplace', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 48.1 (2015), 42-66.

⁷⁷ Berridge, *Demons: Our Changing Attitudes*, p. 44.

⁷⁸ Niessen, p. 272.

discontinued'.⁷⁹ The *BWTJ* came under full female control in September 1892 and, from October 1892, the journal was renamed *Wings*. After this change, *Wings* was free from immediate male control and was 'devoted to women's work in temperance reform'.⁸⁰ Upon the internal schism in 1893, the executive annexed *Wings* and it became the journal of the Women's Total Abstinence Union. During this period, *Wings* enjoyed a wide circulation. The *Dictionary of Nineteenth-Century Journalism* singles out *Wings* as having a particularly extensive readership, although actual figures are unknown.⁸¹

Fig 0.2 - Front cover of *Wings*, March 1893.



⁷⁹ *Waterloo Directory of English Newspapers and Periodicals: 1800 - 1900; The British Woman's Temperance Journal* [Accessed online 30/07/15] <http://www.victorianperiodicals.com/series3/showarticlespecial.asp?id=92590>.

⁸⁰ *Wings*, October 1892, p. 109.

⁸¹ Brenda Ayres, 'Temperance Magazines' in *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* by ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Gent: Academia Press, 2009) p. 618.

⁸² *Wings*, March 1893.

The magazine initially comprised twelve pages of double columns. However, after the split in 1893, the format of the magazine changed as an additional four pages were added, with at least a quarter of the magazine given over to advertisements. At the outset of 1895, the format changed once more to incorporate three columns. As the official organ, the form was similar to a newsletter, linked very closely with the group it represented. In the first issue of 1893, shortly after its relaunch, contents included: an interview with Mrs W. S. Caine, a member of the BWTA; a profile of an Indian temperance reformer, Kesho Ram Roy; a bible reading; an article about the rearing of children; serialised fiction entitled 'For Love; or Eldwyth's Reward'; a children's column, and a record of temperance work undertaken by branches.

Fig 0.3 - *Wings* contents list, January 1893.

Official Organ of the British Women's Temperance Association.	
No. 121.—VOL. XI.] JANUARY 1893. [PRICE ONE PENNY.	
CONTENTS	
	PAGE
British Women at Home.	
Interview: Mrs. W. S. Caine	145
An Indian Temperance Reformer. By W. S. Caine, Esq., M.P.	147
Bible Reading: "The Cure for Fear"	148
"God Loves You"	148
Poetry—"A New Year's Gift." By Mark Guy Pearse	148
The Little Ones. By Frances C. K. Waller	149
Meetings in Swindon	149
Editorial	150
Official Notices	151
Notes and News	151
Serial Story: "For Love; or, Eldwyth's Reward." By Mrs. Harvey-Jellie	152
Our Cosy Corner	153
Children's Column	154
Publications	154
Record of Work	154
Canvassing for Wings	156

⁸³ *Wings*, January 1893.

Branches around the country were encouraged to contribute to the magazine and send in news of regional interest. Yet, it was also a broader interest magazine as content included serial fiction, bible readings, and competitions. Each issue contained original material, but the format and content categories remained largely the same.

Wings cost one penny per monthly issue throughout its print run, widely considered to be the lowest cost denominator of the 'totemic penny'.⁸⁴ It is of note that comparable women's magazines of the period were more expensive, often costing between four and six pence per month.⁸⁵ Although the penny demonstrates a desire to promote accessibility, this thesis considers the aims and audience of the magazine. It assesses whether *Wings* was a reforming magazine aimed at the working classes, or a lifestyle magazine aimed at middle and upper-class women. Finally, it also considers whether commercial interests played any role in the price. By examining the periodical in line with the organisation, these issues can be unpacked and the journal firmly placed in a socio-historic context, adding to existing discourse.

Theoretical and Methodological Framework

This research project is predominantly empirical and focused on archival research, but it is also informed by three key theoretical positions. Firstly, it considers the nature of the periodical as a cultural and textual object. Secondly, it examines theories of space, particularly those linked to the Victorian middle-class ideology of separate spheres and specifically the feminine public sphere. Finally, it considers various theories of community, real, imagined, and emotional.

⁸⁴ Brian Maidment and Margaret Beetham, 'Penny' in *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*, by ed. Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor (Gent: Academia Press, 2009) pp. 487-488.

⁸⁵ Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) p. 219-228.

Theory of the Periodical and Organisation

Although Michael Woolf asserts that ‘the basic unit for the study of Victorian cultural history is the individual issue of a Victorian periodical’, to define it and examine it in this way can be problematic.⁸⁶ As Laurel Brake reminds us, ‘each piece [of content] is instantly contextualised, embedded in a matrix of other pieces which make up the issue in which it appears, and extends to the issues before and after’.⁸⁷ The single issue is defined and shaped by those issues around it, those which precede and succeed it, for historical readers but also contemporary scholars. Historical readers would have read issues daily, weekly, or monthly, yet, due to the practice of binding - often the only way that nineteenth-century periodicals have been preserved - there is a distinct difference in this periodicity for modern scholars. The practice and experience of reading has been altered as we are able to access issues all at once, presented in chronological, volume form. In turn, this ensures that changes in the periodical can be considered more easily, also enabling an intertextual reading, both within the same title and also when compared with others. David Doughan suggests that ‘a periodical which runs for a number of years can give a diachronic view of the development of movements and attitudes’.⁸⁸ The periodical can be used to examine changes in society, in public opinion, and key to this project, notions of acceptability and respectability. Ideas change and develop over time and the periodical allows us to examine this.

The period selected for consideration has been a key methodological issue. A complete run of *Wings* from October 1892 to December 1921 is located at the archive of the Women’s Total Abstinence Education Union Ltd in Birmingham. The dataset is extremely large and so rather than applying a sampling strategy, it was

⁸⁶ Quoted in Pykett, Lynne, ‘Reading the Periodical Press: Text and Context’, in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, by ed. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990) pp. 3-18 (p. 11).

⁸⁷ Laurel Brake ‘Writing, Cultural Production and the Periodical Press in the Nineteenth Century’, in *Writing and Victorianism*, by ed. J. B. Bullen (Harlow: Longman, 1997) p. 54.

⁸⁸ David T. J. Doughan, ‘Periodicals by, for and about Women in Britain’, *Women’s Studies International Forum*, 10.3 (1987) pp. 261-273 (p. 261).

decided to undertake an examination of the periodical from 1892 to 1910. This ensures that changes are considered over time but that the study is not affected by changes in the period before, during, and after, the First World War. During this period, women's identity, along with national requirements and considerations changed dramatically, and to consider gender in the war period was considered beyond the scope of this project. Rather, this thesis is concerned with a particular historical moment and will focus instead on the long fin de siècle and each individual issue from 1892 to 1910 has been considered. The conclusions drawn are representative of this print run.

Beginning in 1892, each issue was examined and photographed, focusing on articles considering gender construction, audience, womanhood, childhood, and the 'mode' of reform work. However, every six months, an entire issue was captured in order to ensure that any potentially unnoticed changes in material were recorded. Particular attention was paid to recurring items and articles in order to address how these changed over time and whether this could be linked to broader social or cultural changes. The volume of photographic material meant that a digital methodology had to be established and images were entered through an optical character recognition (OCR) programme. However, due to the quality of the images, this was unsuccessful and so a 'tagging' strategy was adopted. Each photograph was studied and tagged with a variety of search terms to ensure that material could be searched for and used in an effective analysis. This method ensured that recurring columns could also be compared quickly and efficiently using a keyword search to assess changes in the journal.

Annual reports (1893-1918) and minute books (1898-1911) of the Union were also discovered in the archive. The annual reports were photographed for the relevant period and were successfully passed through OCR software. They are fully searchable, and have been used throughout this project as supplementary material, to further understand both the journal and the organisation. The minutes however,

were hand-written and were scrutinised in the archive, with clear references to enable remote analysis. These materials, often only available for journals linked to a particular organisation, have ensured that the project can examine the periodical not only as a literary source, but also as part of a wider gendered reform culture.

Being able to access the journal and associated materials in print has been vital to the project as the physical form of these sources is significant. The size, shape, and format of any periodical were particular markers of its intentions, audience, and content. Margaret Beetham considers the difficulties in accessing periodicals via mediums which cannot convey these aspects.⁸⁹ The digital availability of *Wings* gives rise to questions of form as this medium does not allow size and shape to be considered in the same manner as physical copies. Fortunately, *Wings* is available both digitally and physically and both editions have been analysed for differences. Additionally, several single, unbound issues were discovered in the archive and so the original, hard copy cover was examined in these instances. Analysing single issues and digital versions over bound copies was most useful with regard to advertisements. Adverts are often a key signifier of a readership's class and gender, but these valuable sources have been stripped out of the bound version of the periodical. The adverts have only been preserved in single issues and digital forms and here allow for a heterogeneous consideration of the journal.

This heterogeneity also gives rise to questions of voice. Articles must be read alongside and in conjunction with one another. However, practices of nineteenth-century journalism mean that questions of authorship can be particularly difficult. Edward Royle asserts that identifying who wrote newspaper or journal articles, or determining when and why they were written, can often be problematic.⁹⁰ Yet, in *Wings*, many articles were signed either by a member of the executive committee or

⁸⁹ Margaret Beetham, 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 1990), pp. 19-32 (p. 23).

⁹⁰ Edward Royle, 'Newspapers and Periodicals in Historical Research', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Aled Jones, and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990), pp. 48-59 (p. 48).

with a contributor signature. Made up of a multiplicity of voices, a heteroglossia, it is important to consider which voices were included, as well as which were omitted. Martin Conboy considers this at length, stating that the issue of voice is a 'constant power struggle' in newspapers and periodicals, whereby certain voices 'provisionally claim a dominant position'.⁹¹ Articles within the same issue of *Wings*, and even on the same page, sometimes presented contradictory ideas. It is in this conflicting space that debates around social reform and respectability can be most clearly read. It is important to read these debates and consider the multiplicity of voices within, rather than understanding all titles, editors and readers as existing within a 'monolithic womankind'.⁹² For the Union and *Wings*, this voice is fragmentary and gives rise to questions of organisational unity.

Whilst these issues of time, form and voice are important, genre and readership are vital to this study. *Wings* is seemingly an example of a social reform journal, yet there is limited evidence regarding the reform actions of the organisation. The group set out their aims from the outset; they sought to undertake work which would spread the message of temperance and influence the adoption of teetotalism. Reform was their aim as they sought to amend behaviour and actions. However, although their stated intention was to influence behaviour and the adoption of teetotalism, it is questionable to what extent the group actually undertook work to this end. As will be discussed, the journal was seemingly aimed at women of the Union who were already temperate. It encouraged women to work in temperance and to undertake reform work, but descriptions and accounts of this work are lacking. Rather, to a large extent, the journal seems to have functioned as a domestic lifestyle magazine, a source of entertainment and instruction for children, and a didactic instruction manual for WTAU women. Reform work where women of the Union went

⁹¹ Martin Conboy, *Journalism: A Critical History* (London: Sage, 2004), p. 128.

⁹² Michelle Tusan, *Women Making News: Gender and the Women's Periodical Press in Britain* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2005), p. 6.

into reforming spaces seems to have been vague and little record or account exists of this. Therefore the genre of the journal must be considered. Was it actually a reforming title? For example, if the magazine can be shown to be predominantly a lifestyle magazine then the issue of social reform would clearly have been less important to the group. In turn, if it was focused only on domestic issues then again, women would be advised that reform work was not their primary responsibility. Decisions on what was included in the title were been made by the organisation. However, as will be explored throughout this thesis, the editor alone did not have sole control over decisions of content. Rather, these decisions were seemingly made by the editor but also the executive or general committees. Here, the issue of intention becomes complex. A group is comprised of a series of individuals and some of these would have been more vocal and controlling than others, likely due to the hierarchical nature of the Union. It is questionable whether intention can ever be applied to the group as a whole, rather it seems as though individual women within the hierarchy would have made these decisions. This thesis explores this issue, arguing that certain individuals were more influential than others in shaping Union policy and work.

In the same way, this diversity is applicable to the readership of the journal and the Union's rank and file members. Often, due to a lack of readership or circulation lists, it is impossible to define the readership of any individual journal. Faced with this problem, periodical scholars often attempt to reconstruct the implied reader of a periodical via a close reading of its contents. However, Beetham rightly outlines the dangers of assuming a readership from the text. She asserts that cultural issues were clearly negotiated in nineteenth-century journals but as we cannot truly know a readership, we also 'deny readers any possibility of resisting or re-making these meanings'.⁹³ Therefore, even if we can identify a reader from the text or any associated materials, we assume that they would have been in agreement with

⁹³ Margaret Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996), p. 11.

everything in the journal. This is problematic. It seems safe to assert that modern readers would not be subject to the same assumption as individuality and personal choice are now emphasised. These same conclusions should, if possible, be applied to historical readers. However, constructing a historical readership is extremely difficult as nineteenth-century subscription and readership details have largely been lost. When analysing the periodical of a pressure or reform group, though, other options can be available. In many cases, organisational records and membership lists can be used to interrogate a journal's readership in ways that using a journal alone cannot. For this project, in annual reports of the WTAU, names and addresses for branch presidents and secretaries were discovered and subsequently researched via census records. Doing so provided details concerning their age, marital status, the number of children they had living with them, levels of domestic help, and their employment status. Here, a fragment of membership can be discovered and subsequently compared to the implied or constructed readership. As discussed in chapter four, though, difficulties remain as membership lists do not necessarily equate to a readership. However, in the instance of the Union, there were frequent appeals to women of the Union to read *Wings*, to take multiple copies, to share the magazine with their friends, and to leave the journal in local places where additional readers could be attracted. It seems probable therefore, that branch presidents and secretaries would have been readers. It also must be noted that as branch presidents and secretaries, the women analysed in this study were not 'typical' members. The very status of office confers an importance not assigned to an average member. However, these limitations are not insurmountable and a partial picture of the magazine's readership can still be constructed using these details.

The aspects considered above (time/periodicity, materiality, form, voice, genre, and readership), are important to periodical research. However, perhaps most important is the way in which the journal can be used to read particular attitudes and developments across nineteenth-century society. This is a particularly complex issue

and forms a key theoretical and methodological underpinning for this project. It uses a reflectionist/constructionist methodology, commonplace in periodical studies. It could be asserted that the periodical simply reflects society, giving an insight into popular opinion of the time. However, Tony Bennett rightly asserts that if the journal is only utilised as a mirror on contemporary society, it would somehow be 'less real than the "real" it reflected, existing above society and passively mirroring it rather than forming an active and integral part of it'.⁹⁴ Instead, it is clear that the periodical both reflected and constructed nineteenth-century society; it reflected change but also created it. A dialogue existed between the press and society, which is reflected in this study. In using the periodical in this way, the text becomes a site where nineteenth-century debates can be uncovered. Therefore *Wings* will be considered not only as reflecting changes in contemporary attitudes but also as potentially shaping them.

Wings can also be seen as a space in which women attempted to find a place for themselves. Beetham states that 'each periodical number, was and is, part of a complex process in which writers, editors, publishers, and readers engaged in trying to understand themselves and their society; that is, they struggled to make their world meaningful'.⁹⁵ For *Wings*, women were advised on how to act, how to be, what to do, and at times, what not to do. It was concerned with all aspects of women's lives, even though it was only apparently focused on their temperance work and identity as temperance women. The reality though, was significantly different, potentially forming a key area for interrogation when looking at other similar groups. Findings for the WTAU and *Wings* could be extrapolated for other female groups and used to build understanding of women's role and place in the late-nineteenth century, particularly in reference to social reform or pressure groups. Many groups remain under-examined and further work is required to fully understand the links between groups

⁹⁴ Tony Bennett, 'Media, Reality, Signification', in *Culture, Society and the Media*, by ed. Michael Gurevitch (London: Routledge, 1982) pp. 287-308 (p. 287).

⁹⁵ Margaret Beetham 'Towards a Theory of the Periodical as a Publishing Genre', in *Investigating Victorian Journalism*, by ed. Laurel Brake, Aled Jones and Lionel Madden (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1990) pp. 19-32 (p. 20).

and their journals. Here though, *Wings* will be considered as a site of construction of complex gender identities but also a representation of its women members; as a site where women's issues, temperance and concerns over respectability were considered. These ideas are directly related to concerns over women's place, gender ideals, and specifically, questions of space.

Gender & Space / Spheres

Any discussion on nineteenth-century gender ideals must include a consideration of separate spheres and public / private space. But, before considering gender in terms of space, the concept of gender itself should be briefly discussed.

Gender identity in the nineteenth century and specifically the fin de siècle was extremely complex. Judith Butler discusses a broader construction of gender, questioning whether one *has* a gender or *is* a gender and whether 'if gender is constructed, could it be constructed differently or does its constructedness imply some form of social determinism, foreclosing the possibility of agency and transformation?'⁹⁶ Although Butler is discussing modern gender identity here the concept of constructedness is relevant to women of this study. To define what it meant to be a woman in the nineteenth century is difficult and it is easy to merely assume a universality of female experience. Even when women are divided further, by class, geography, educational status, marital status etc, a level of universality is still assumed. Indeed, they operated within shared cultures, societies and prevailing norms. However, each woman would have had a different outlook and different experiences. To define women as universal risks missing out on the real details of feminine experience. Intricacy must be considered to see the depth, breadth, and complexities of gendered difference in the nineteenth century and fin de siècle. Victorian women would have been shaped by the world in which they moved, lived

⁹⁶ Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble* (London: Routledge, 1990) p. 7.

and worked, and by the things they interacted with; particularly the things they read, such as books, newspapers, and magazines. Indeed, many scholars have written about the literature and reading practices of nineteenth-century women.⁹⁷ For the WTAU, women of the Union would come from different backgrounds and therefore read and interpret in different ways. To ignore this complexity and instead refer to 'women' or more pertinent to this study, 'middle-class women', is problematic. This work has adopted a three-layered methodology in order to address this, and women of the Union are examined on three levels. A broad picture of women of the WTAU is created by constructing an implied readership using details from the journal, *Wings*. This enables a broad discussion of gender ideals of the late nineteenth century, but does not provide detail or allow concrete conclusions to be drawn. Therefore, the second focus is achieved through census research. The details of ninety women involved in the Union have been discovered via census records and these enable a discussion of Victorian middle-class womanhood, supported by the specifics of a number of women's lives. It is these women who are considered with regard to the WTAU and *Wings* and particularly with reference to implied and actual gendered identity. Thirdly, and finally, two women of the Union form the subject of case studies. Miss Fanny Forsaith and Lady Elizabeth Biddulph have been chosen as representative of the progressive and more conservative elements of the Union. In-depth details of these two women have been discovered as both were well known and connected in nineteenth-century London. Through this methodology, it is hoped to achieve a nuanced consideration of the complexities of nineteenth-century gender identity.

⁹⁷ See Beetham (1990), (2012); Flint (1993); and Showalter (2009).

Space - Separate

The concept of separate spheres is well-known and no discussion of nineteenth-century gender, family, or culture could be undertaken without its consideration. Of course, this concern with gender was not unique to the nineteenth century. In the previous century the subject of gender difference and rightful gender roles formed a key part of religious discourse. Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall assert that Puritanism and differing emphasis on individual believers and the religion of the wider family began a debate on 'relative places of men and women in the church'.⁹⁸ However, in the nineteenth century, with the rise of the Victorian middle classes, issues of respectability, women's work, and the cult of domesticity became central.

Held primarily (though not exclusively) amongst the Victorian middle classes, the separate spheres doctrine traditionally dictated that women belonged in the private sphere, whilst men belonged in the public sphere. Predominantly, the private sphere was considered to be the home; a female-only space, with the exception of male family members, where women would be unlikely to come into unexpected contact with other men. By residing in this world, the reputation of that woman could not be called into question; she would continue to be seen as an unsullied wife and mother whose loyalties and experiences were with her husband and family alone. To move from the private space of the home into public space, forgoing the protection of her husband, meant that she would have stepped away from the expectations of polite, middle-class society. The public sphere, the realm of men, was the workplace, the street, and essentially any public space considered unsuitable for respectable women. Martha Vicinus argues that 'when middle-class women did not do as they were supposed to or stay where they were supposed to be, the public assumed that they were fair game'.⁹⁹ Gender ideology dictated that men were of the rational,

⁹⁸ Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), p. 107.

⁹⁹ Vicinus, *Independent Women*, p. 265.

masculine, public, whilst women were of the private, feminine, domestic. By the mid-nineteenth century 'the belief in the natural differences and complementary roles of men and women which had originally been particularly linked to Evangelism, had become the common sense of the English middle class'.¹⁰⁰

Class was key in shaping these experiences, as working-class women could not afford the luxury of being idle and genteel. They were still subject to domestic ideology though, although adherence to the doctrine of separate spheres was likely to be aspirational. Necessity dictated that women of the working classes entered the public sphere in order to work and contribute to the family economy. However, the middle-class, genteel woman was expected to be the Victorian ideal of the 'angel in the house'.¹⁰¹ Coventry Patmore coined this phrase and it came to represent middle-class femininity, something endlessly discussed in manuals, magazines, newspapers and even in lectures. John Ruskin's *Sesame and Lilies*, one of the best-known expressions of this gender ideology, begins by stating that 'the best strength of a man is shown in his intellectual work, as that of a woman in her daily deed and character'.¹⁰² Women were expected to remain in the home, showing their goodness through their private work, domestic duties, demeanour and temperament. The behaviours and codes outlined by Patmore and Ruskin, among others, have been problematised by modern historians. Vicinus for example states that by the 1860s, 'women could not remain within a static role of domesticity'.¹⁰³ The reality of gender roles in the period are more complex than allowed by the simplistic ideology of Victorian separate spheres. Tosh's excellent consideration of Victorian masculinity demonstrates that men were private, domestic beings, as well as public. He asserts that the home was key to Victorian masculinity 'as the place where the boy was disciplined by dependence' but also as the place where he 'attained full adult status

¹⁰⁰ Davidoff and Hall, p. 149.

¹⁰¹ Coventry Patmore, *The Angel in the House* (London: John W Parker and Son, 1858).

¹⁰² John Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* (London: George Allen, 1865), p. vi.

¹⁰³ Martha Vicinus, 'Introduction: New Trends in the Study of the Victorian Woman', in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. by Martha Vicinus (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1977), p. x.

as householder'.¹⁰⁴ Commonly accepted as a feminine realm, the man of the house held ultimate control here; it was his possession, along with everything in it, but it was also the place where his needs were met. The home was central to his masculine experience. Once again, expectation of Victorian gender roles was not necessarily reality. This was also true for women of the middle class. They were expected to be solely of the private domestic, in line with middle-class identity, but Vicinus asserts that 'by the 1860s middle-class women in particular were taking on an increasingly large number of tasks that might require public agitation'.¹⁰⁵ Women were taking part in reform activities which necessitated leaving the safety of the domestic realm and moving into an alternative space, neither entirely public nor private. This thesis focuses on this space, neither solely masculine nor solely feminine, through the lens of a single reform movement, temperance. This is because, as Doern asserts, 'temperance women manipulated this ideology [of domesticity] to create new roles for themselves, which although not comparable with twentieth-century feminist ideas of equality, still provided an initial step towards what would become the women's movement of the latter nineteenth century'.¹⁰⁶ The women of the WTAU, respectable women of the middle classes, had to negotiate this space of female activity, and they used the temperance movement, the periodical press, and accepted notions of female moral and social duty to do so.

Space - Public

The private sphere was the space of femininity, womanhood, and family. Although typically deemed to be the home, it also included spaces of religion, specifically the church. In comparison, the public arena was considered to be masculine, that of the workplace, the men's club, and politics. This was the space of men; an area in which

¹⁰⁴ Tosh, p. 2.

¹⁰⁵ Vicinus, 'Introduction: New Trends in the Study of the Victorian Woman'. p. x.

¹⁰⁶ Doern, 'Equal Questions: The "Woman Question" and the "Drink Question" in the Writings of Clara Lucas Balfour, 1808 - 78', p. 159.

decisions were made and from which women were seemingly excluded. This idea of exclusion from the masculine sphere is posited by Jürgen Habermas in his paradigmatic work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1989). He asserts that prior to the eighteenth century, society was representational, shaped and affected by the ruling elite force. At the turn of the century, a public sphere (*Öffentlichkeit*) began to emerge as a democratic space outside the control of the state in which critical discourse could be undertaken. Habermas asserts that coffee houses, increasing in popularity, were the spaces in which discussion began - debates that were ignited by literature and art.¹⁰⁷ This discussion continued and soon spread to economic and political issues, enabled by the emergent periodical press. It was in, and due to, this space, and through the medium of newspapers and the periodical press, that society began to change into one where political and economic engagement was possible for a broader section of the population. But, this engagement was not universal. The coffee house was a masculine space, as expected, but it was a space specifically of the masculine middle class. Habermas asserts that the coffee house made engagement 'less formal and easier' but that it also 'embraced the wider strata of the middle class, including craftsmen and shopkeepers'.¹⁰⁸ Men of the middling classes, both the wealthy and the less wealthy, were all enabled to take part in societal, economic and political discourse. Engagement became more widespread but, crucially, not universal. He asserts that this emergent space enabled change, but the place of women within this must be considered. It follows that, using Habermas' definition, women would be excluded from this space, as they were confined to the private sphere, that of the home, as dictated by the cult of domesticity and ideology of respectable femininity. Although in the coffee house culture outlined by Habermas, the male voice is clearly privileged,

¹⁰⁷ Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. by Thomas Burger (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ Habermas, p. 33.

female voice and influence was not necessarily absent. Discourse was consistently concerned with the role and place of women, and indeed this was one of the central questions of the period. Femininity was closely examined, and even if the female voice was not active, physical or public, it was certainly present, in private, in homes across the country, and in the realm of public reform work. Importantly, the omission in coffee houses is not a complete absence of female voice more widely.

From the mid-century onwards, women were enabled to carry out philanthropic, charitable and reform work, as part of their moral duty to their family, and by extension, the nation. They began to move from the private to the public whilst attempting to negotiate ideals of gender and respectability. Nancy Fraser's critique of Habermas examines this specifically, and proposes that the public sphere outlined by Habermas is ideological. She rightly states that this sphere was based on class and gender and goes further to declare that the 'bourgeois public was never *the* public'.¹⁰⁹ Rather, Fraser asserts that in place of the one public sphere, there was actually 'a multiplicity of public arenas', including nationalist, elite, women's, religious, working class, and so on. Smitley takes this idea and expands on it further, appropriately re-evaluating the rigidity of the 'private' and 'public' and developing a key concept of a 'feminine public sphere'.¹¹⁰ She asserts that this sphere was one which 'more affluent women carved out of a hostile, male-oriented public through heterodox interpretations of separate spheres'.¹¹¹ The sphere defined by Smitley is one where women used 'notions of respectability and women's mission' alongside ideas of 'middle-class civic duty' and it is in an analysis of this space that previously undiscussed individuals can be uncovered.¹¹² However, once again, although this is more useful, it still does not go far enough. Rather, it seems that there would not merely be one female arena, but that there would be a series of feminine public spheres, a combination of Fraser and

¹⁰⁹ Nancy Fraser, 'Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy', *Social Text*, 1990, 56-80 (p. 61).

¹¹⁰ Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870 - 1914*.

¹¹¹ Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870 - 1914*, p. 4.

¹¹² Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870 - 1914*, p. 4.

Smitley's work. As there were different ideals of women's public and philanthropic work, there would be different female public spaces in which this was carried out. Whilst understanding the feminine public sphere as a series of interconnecting spaces, where women could work within and across networks, undertaking reform and charitable work, this thesis uses Smitley's idea to examine one aspect, the realm of the WTAU. After usefully identifying the feminine public sphere, Smitley goes on to assert that minute books and organisations' periodicals reveal new ways in which 'middle-class women in the 1870 to 1914 period negotiated a place in the public sphere while simultaneously aiding in the construction of a middle-class civic identity'.¹¹³ Once again, this particularly holds for the Union, and their organisational material, including annual reports, minute books and the periodical, *Wings*, are considered throughout this thesis,

The WTAU were located in a feminine public sphere; a space where middle-class women could undertake reform work away from the influence of what Frank Prochaska terms 'masculine officialism'.¹¹⁴ But the space of the WTAU is, in itself, a curious one, and it had many components. It provided physical spaces in which women of the WTAU could meet, centred around an office in Ludgate Hill, London, with branches around the country. Monthly meetings created a space where women could physically interact. This physical space created a community and it is interesting to note that the rhythm of the periodical, a monthly title, was mirrored in the rhythms of the physical space and its monthly committees and meetings.

Community

The final theoretical position of this thesis is concerned with ideas of community, real, imagined and emotional. Clearly, there was a real community of the WTAU as women members of the executive and general committees met in the central London office.

¹¹³ Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870 - 1914*, p. 7.

¹¹⁴ Prochaska, p. 222.

Yet, there was also another community, one which was created via the branch structure of the Union and the periodical, *Wings*.

In his 1983 text, *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson considers ideas of nationalism asserting that this is 'an imagined political community', imagined because members of the nation can never meet every other member.¹¹⁵ He goes further to state that this nation is limited (due to the nations which exist beyond this) and is defined as a community because in spite of any actual or perceived inequalities, 'the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship'.¹¹⁶ Two of Anderson's ideas are particularly pertinent to this study; his idea of limitation and his ideas of comradeship.

Anderson's work has been extremely influential and his concept of limitation is a complex one when transferred to the WTAU, due to the interconnected nature of London, reform work, and the periodical press. Boundaries and identities become blurred. This thesis suggests that many women worked across causes including temperance, suffrage, and social purity and held a variety of identities as reform worker, domestic manager, and moral guide.

More crucially though, Anderson's ideas of comradeship and community are vital to this work. For his definition of an imagined community, members of the imagined political community would have 'confidence in their steady, anonymous, simultaneous activity'.¹¹⁷ This can be transferred to women of the WTAU based around the United Kingdom. They would never meet every other member of the Union working for the temperance cause but they would have taken strength from their membership, and *Wings*, to undertake reform work. Developing this further, Anderson's description of simultaneous reading is well known. He asserts that the time stamping of a newspaper gives it a special significance, but more importantly,

¹¹⁵ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised edition (London: Verso, 1991), p. 6.

¹¹⁶ Anderson, p. 7.

¹¹⁷ Anderson, p. 26.

that reading the newspaper was a 'mass ceremony', undertaken 'by thousands (or millions)' at the same time.¹¹⁸ The periodicity of the daily title means that each reader read about particular issues, news and events at the same time as many others. The newspaper itself, and by extension, books and magazines, create a community. Here, the text functions as a space whereby people could access ideas and make links with others who felt the same. Yet, to take Anderson's ideas of periodicity at face value does not take into account the full life cycle of a newspaper, or in the case of the Union, a magazine. Leah Price critiques Anderson on this issue stating that the first day that a newspaper was in print formed a 'small and unrepresentative fraction' of its life cycle.¹¹⁹ Indeed, people did/do not only read newspapers on the day of publication, and this certainly does not account for non-reading uses such as scrapbooking or even fish and chip paper. Newspapers and magazines exist both before and after publication. Anderson's ideas do not allow consideration of the potential use of the magazine for different uses: as a reforming tool, given out to working women to encourage temperance; or even perhaps given to servants to encourage appropriate behaviour.

Wings created a community. In buying and reading this, or any particular journal, nineteenth-century readers became part of the relevant community and demonstrated their interest in, or commitment to, a particular issue or cause. They also connected with others who shared the same concerns. In reading *Wings*, women of the Union signalled an intent, interest, or commitment to the temperance cause. Via the journal, each member/reader was situated in a wider community. They would be aware of others across the country taking part in temperance reform, working for the same ideals and be able to draw strength from each other and continue their work. Here, the idea of an imagined community can be explored effectively. Women could come together to learn about temperance developments each month whilst knowing

¹¹⁸ Anderson, p. 35.

¹¹⁹ Leah Price, *How to Do Things with Books in Victorian Britain* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), p. 261.

that others were doing the same. Anderson's concept of community as comradeship holds as women of the Union also worked together within branch. However, it must be understood that the very presence of executive and general committees, as well as titled ladies, does give a hierarchy within the group, not within the definition of community and comradeship used by Anderson. To develop this further though, this thesis considers Anderson's ideas in line with Barbara Rosenwein's ideas of an emotional community.

In 2002, Barbara Rosenwein developed the concept of an emotional community. As a medieval historian, she sought to repudiate the 'grand narrative' that the Middle Ages had the 'emotional life of a child: unadulterated, violent, public, unashamed' and that the modern period brought 'self-discipline, control and suppression'.¹²⁰ She rather believed that in the Middle Ages as with later societies, people had a sense of community and support and lived in 'emotional communities'. In 2006, she developed the idea further, making a leap from individualism to the collective and defined the emotional community as a 'group in which people have a common stake, interests, values, and goals.'¹²¹ Although Rosenwein uses this idea solely for the Middle Ages, it is an approach that can be used to analyse ideas of community across time as Jan Plamper asserts that this model was 'formulated as universally applicable for all cultures and times'.¹²² Rosenwein's methodology takes existing communities in the Middle Ages and analyses texts of that community, including letters, histories, hagiographies and chronicles, to extract emotion words and link these communities together using their textual remnants. Plamper, however, asserts that by using this methodology, these communities could also potentially be considered to be textual communities, linked by their works, and potentially never

¹²⁰ Barbara H. Rosenwein, 'Worrying about Emotions in History', *The American Historical Review*, 107.3 (2002), 821-45 (p. 827) <<https://doi.org/10.1086/532498>>.

¹²¹ Barbara H. Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006), p. 24.

¹²² Jan Plamper, *The History of Emotions: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), p. 69.

meeting.¹²³ This idea of a textual community is certainly applicable to the WTAU as some of the women read *Wings* and had the periodicity of reading in a community but would never meet face-to-face. Clearly though, it also must be reiterated at this point that although there were some women within the Union who would never meet, due to the geographical spread, there were women who met monthly, via executive and general committee meetings. Regardless of whether the community created was real, imagined or textual though, the Union brought together women who believed in the temperance cause and who agreed to work together to further this cause, taking support from each other to do so. The main office, network structure, and the periodical created spaces in which women workers and readers could interact, share ideas, and access support from like-minded individuals, similar to Rosenwein's emotional community. She further states that 'thus it [the emotional community] is often a "social community" but it is also possibly a "textual community", created and reinforced by ideologies, teaching and common presuppositions'.¹²⁴ Building on Anderson's ideas of imagined community, the Union is also a textual and an emotional community.

Yet, remaining with the idea of an emotional community, Rosenwein continues that there is not simply one emotional community. She states that 'the large circle is the overarching emotional community, tied together by fundamental assumptions, values, goals, feeling rules and accepted modes of expression. The smaller circles represent subordinate emotional communities, partaking in the larger one and revealing its possibilities and its limitations. They too may be subdivided.'¹²⁵ This clearly links to ideas of the feminine public sphere and its use in this thesis that there was not only one female public sphere. Rather, once again there were many

¹²³ Plamper, p. 69.

¹²⁴ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, pp. 24-25.

¹²⁵ Rosenwein, *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages*, p. 24.

interlinking spheres and communities, making networks between organisations and potentially enabling women to move between these.

WTAU and *Wings*

This thesis is concerned with the manner in which theories of the periodical, space and community interact and how the WTAU and *Wings* sit within this. The periodical will be examined as an object, as part of material culture, ephemeral and dated, but also as a text, and a site of construction and representation where contemporary debates were played out and can be read. More complex though are the relationships between space, private and public, and community, real, imagined, textual and emotional. Smitley's concept of the feminine public sphere is vital to this study but does not go far enough. This thesis develops this term and proposes that the feminine public sphere did not exist as one space. It should instead be understood as a series of interlocking and interconnecting spaces in which women could undertake philanthropic reform work, with some working across groups and movements.

Turning to community, there is a significant gap between ideas of real and imagined communities and it seems that the Union was at different moments both of these and more. It is in this gap between real and imagined that many women's groups operated, including the WTAU. It was a real community, one of reform workers who were centred around London and with a clear branch structure, and yet was also imagined, created via the breadth of the branch structure and the periodical *Wings*.

The WTAU, and other similar groups, existed in a unique space, and were both real *and* imagined. These groups were often inextricably linked with their periodical, a representational space where ideas could be disseminated and discussed. In turn, the magazine is both a public and private space. It does not distinctly belong to either sphere, but utilises key theoretical ideas of the public sphere outlined by Habermas, the feminine public sphere considered by Smitley, the imagined community of Anderson and finally, the emotional community of Rosenwein.

The WTAU and *Wings* sits at an intersection of these theories, at once public and private, domestic and political, respectable and progressive. To label this group as essentially conservative and thus not worthy of study, is a disservice. It is in the experience of the everyday, quiet majority that the breadth of complexity in nineteenth century gender, space, and the periodical press can be considered.

Chapter One: Connection and Cross Working

In the summer of 1893, as a result of the proposed 'do everything' policy, the British Women's Temperance Association split into the National British Women's Temperance Association and the Women's Total Abstinence Union. In the split, *Wings* was annexed by the executive and from December 1893 was rebranded as 'the official organ of the Women's Total Abstinence Union'.¹ The new tagline of *Wings*, included on the front cover of every issue, was 'devoted to women's work in temperance'.² After the schism of 1893, and the rejection of the 'do everything' policy, this sole focus was placed at the forefront of the Union's message. They disconnected themselves from the BWTA but although this moment appeared to be a decisive break, it could not hold. After the split, the Union entered into a series of ongoing negotiations and swiftly moved beyond this, demonstrating the connectivity of late-century reform work.

This chapter examines the Union in three ways, via its locations, structures, and affiliations and argues that over the years following the schism, the Union moved from outright rejection and disconnection, to discreet cross working, to open affiliation. Firstly, it considers the physical location of the Union, and the reasons for this, in the interconnected space of late nineteenth-century London. It argues that the Union moved away from the NBWTA but continued to be connected within the reform and publishing worlds. Secondly, it examines the structure of the Union, including its branches and leagues, suggesting that its success was dependent on these connections. The organisation of the group, with a central London office and branches around the country, was necessary for community, communication, and connection. For women reformers potentially struggling against the established order of Victorian gender ideology, this was vital. This chapter argues that these connections were carefully managed to ensure success for the national group, rather than for an

¹ *Wings*, December 1893, p. 277.

² *Wings*, December 1893, p. 277.

offshoot. Finally, it considers the affiliations of the Union and on the issue of cross working with other groups and movements, asserting that here, the Union dealt with the issue of connection carefully. Although the Union affiliated with other temperance groups, it was more cautious when considering wider reform groups, and initially rejected formal affiliation before finally moving beyond this.

London

Prior to 1893, *Wings* was published by the British Women's Temperance Association Newspaper Co. Ltd., with headquarters at 25 & 26 Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London. However, after the split, the WTAU temporarily relocated from Farringdon Street to 14 Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, before finally moving, in October 1893, to 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill. The offices on Ludgate Hill were adjacent to Ludgate Circus and opposite Fleet Street. *The Queen's London*, a 'pictorial and descriptive record' of London in 1896 stated that 'one of the busiest spots in the City is Ludgate Circus, where meet Fleet Street, Ludgate Hill, Farringdon Street, and New Bridge Street.'³ The Union was consistently located in one of the busiest parts of the metropolis. Fleet Street was the centre of Victorian publishing and by the latter years of the nineteenth century 'all the significant London-based national papers and a myriad of periodicals ... had offices and printing presses on or in the streets close to Fleet Street.'⁴

³ 'Ludgate Circus' in *The Queen's London: a Pictorial and Descriptive Record of the Streets, Buildings, Parks and Scenery of the Great Metropolis*, 1896. Accessed via *The Victorian Dictionary* by Lee Jackson, <http://www.victorianlondon.org/districts/ludgatehill.htm> [Accessed 20/07/15].

⁴ John Richard Wood, 'Fleet Street', ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 221.

Fig 1.1 - Image of Fleet Street, looking east to Ludgate Hill.⁵



The image is of Fleet Street, looking east to Ludgate Hill and St Paul's Cathedral. Fleet Street was a male-oriented public space, overtly busy and commercial. The figures in the image are almost exclusively male, wearing Victorian middle-class business attire. Martin Hamer asserts that Fleet Street's association with journalism began in 1500 with the arrival of London's first printing press and that the association with newspapers began in 1702 with the arrival of London's first daily newspaper, *The Courant*.⁶ Subsequently, many national and provincial titles set up offices in the area. Interestingly, although overwhelmingly associated with Victorian publishing practices, it was also a space where public houses were rife and a space filled with potentially drunken male behaviour.

⁵ Image 47866, 'Fleet Street, City of London: looking east to Ludgate Hill and St Paul's Cathedral' Collage: The London Picture Archive [Accessed 04/05/17].

⁶ Martin Hamer, 'Fleet Street', ed. by Bob Franklin and others, *Key Concepts in Journalism Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 2005), pp. 81-82 (p. 82).

Fig 1.2 - Image showing location and number of pubs on and around Fleet Street.



In spite of this, after the schism, whilst searching for new premises, the Union actively placed themselves close to Fleet Street, at the centre of Victorian publishing. The Union still sought to publish *Wings* and it is likely that they placed themselves near Fleet Street simply because every other significant title was based in the area.

Practically, in remaining in the area associated with press and publishing, the Union would have been able to access distribution networks, advertising agents, and printing facilities. Remaining in the area demonstrates that the Union wanted to operate within the wider community of journalism and publishing. Due to the schism, the group were potentially now at the fringes and needed to establish themselves anew, with a renewed sense of legitimacy. In remaining near Fleet Street, the Union would be able to access relevant networks and facilities and *Wings* would potentially be more visible. This suggests that the Union wanted *Wings* to be more than an in-house newsletter. Rather, they wanted it to be an important title, working on the serious issue of temperance reform.

At their first permanent address, 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill, the Union shared the building with the Sunday School Union (book depot) and Hannaford Thos. Watson, an advertising agent. Within the wider street section, neighbours included a tobacconist; a stationer; an infant orphan asylum; a dentist; a bootmaker; a tailor; a publisher; and a solicitor.⁷ They remained in this location for several years but in 1896, the rent on the property apparently increased and the Union sought to move premises.

The financial report of the Union for 1894-5, shows rent for 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill to be £60 and to have increased to £61 by 1895-6.⁸ This is an increase of £1 per annum. In May 1896, in the minutes of the executive committee, the women stated that they were unhappy with the amount charged and that instead they wished to pay only £15 or £20 per annum for the space. They wanted to dramatically reduce the amount they paid in rent for the space at 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill. They approached the owner of the property and were advised that the rent could be lowered to £40 and

⁷ *Post Office London Directory*, 1895. p. 505.
<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16445coll4/id/8845/rec/6> [Accessed online 17/07/15]

⁸ *Second Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1894-5, p. 75; *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, p. 84.

that 'an offer of £35 might have been entertained'.⁹ The Union was unwilling to accept this offer and began to look at other rooms in Temple, Memorial Hall, and 4 Ludgate Hill. The executive committee discussed the benefits and disadvantages for each office, as well as the terms of agreement, concluding that the offices at 4 Ludgate Hill would be best.¹⁰

Whilst searching for new premises, the Union viewed premises at Memorial Hall. Memorial Hall was a larger space than they had had, as it was divisible into two offices, rather than one.¹¹ The Union could have expanded, had more space in which to work and be seen as a professional organisation with impressive rooms and workspace. They could have increased their legitimacy. It was where the NBWTA and the editorial offices of the *Woman's Signal* were located, as well as several religious organisations, the London Vegetarian Society, and a women's convalescent home.¹² If the Union had moved to Memorial Hall, they could have been co-located with other reform groups, building wider links and networks whilst retaining their sole focus. However, in declining to move to Memorial Hall, they turned down this co-location. In their discussion about the merits of Memorial Hall they considered the lack of a lift in the property, stating that as a result it was unsuitable for their needs.¹³ This chapter questions whether the lack of a lift was the true reason for declining co-location in Memorial Hall and suggests that the acrimonious schism of 1893 was also a possible factor. The split was still a matter of contention to the WTAU as in several discussions of the executive committee, there is evidence of a lingering animosity toward the NBWTA. For instance, prior to the issue of co-location, in May 1895, several women reported having attended the World's Women Christian Temperance Association (WWCTU) Annual Convention and stated that 'the meeting showed very clearly the

⁹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May 1896.

¹⁰ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May - June 1896.

¹¹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May 1896.

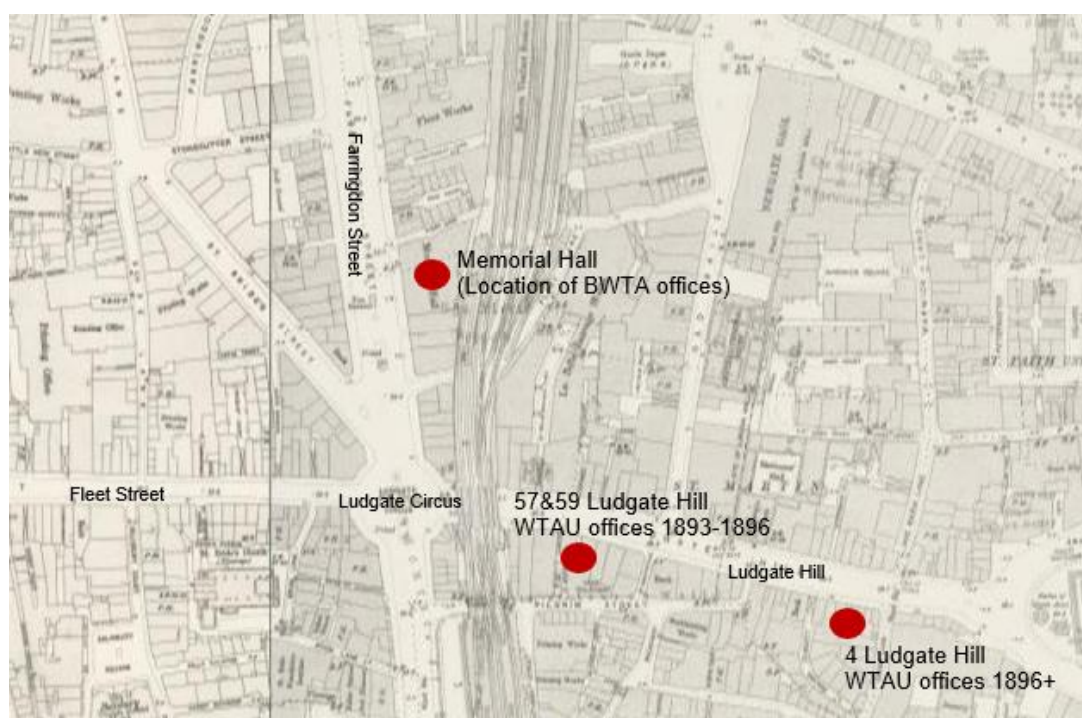
¹² *Post Office London Directory*, 1895, p. 351.

<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16445coll4/id/8845/rec/6> [Accessed online 17/07/15].

¹³ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May 1896.

need for the stand taken by those who withdrew from the BWTA. Mrs Finlay wrote to [...] the *Daily News* and [...] showed that unlike the NBWTA our Union works for temperance only.¹⁴ In declining to move to memorial Hall, this section argues that the women of the WTAU sought to show their differences to the NBWTA, distancing themselves metaphorically and geographically.

Fig 1.3 - Map of selected London locations related to BWTA and WTAU.



Instead of Memorial Hall, the Union chose to move to premises at 4 Ludgate Hill. This was, in some respects, a curious decision. The Union could have had greater space and expansion if they had moved to Memorial Hall. Further, the rooms at 4 Ludgate Hill were rented at a cost of £80 per annum, *four times* what they had wished to pay at 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill.¹⁵ It is peculiar that the Union wished to have their rent lowered at one property but then moved somewhere that they paid much more. It is of note though that the final offices at Ludgate Hill had been and continued

¹⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May 1895.

¹⁵ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, June 1896.

to be home to temperance related organisations. From 1891 to 1893, the Band of Hope, an organisation focused on teaching children to live by temperance values, had offices at 4 Ludgate Hill.¹⁶ After the Band of Hope left the building, it continued to be occupied by the Temperance Permanent Building Society.¹⁷ This Society was established in 1854 to take deposits and assist with mortgages and in October 1891, advertised in the *Illustrated London News*, one of the largest newspapers of the time, offering 'a safe 4 per cent investment.'¹⁸ This move would have likely been viewed by the WTAU as a positive step as they would now have been sharing premises with a prestigious, temperance-focused organisation.

After the schism, the Union chose to disconnect from the NBWTA, but they remained connected in the wider world of reform and print. Physically, they turned down co-location with other female reform groups, but they chose instead to locate themselves within temperance reform. They moved into a building with wider temperance connections whilst also remaining close to Fleet Street, necessary for the success of *Wings*. This issue of connectedness is complex and nuanced. The Union founded themselves on disconnection but in these wider connections sought association and legitimacy.

After the schism, *Wings* continued to be published by the British Women's Temperance Association Newspaper Co. Ltd. until November 1893 when it began to be published by the WTAU Publishing Co. Ltd. In 1896 however, this organisation was disestablished, the Union publishing company was wound up and *Wings* became the property of the Women's Total Abstinence Union. This also coincided with the Union moving from 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill to 4 Ludgate Hill. After this, the Union had no separate section associated with the publishing of the journal and although they had the benefits of holding ownership of the organ, they also held any risk. As a result,

¹⁶ *Lucerna Magic Lantern Web Resource*, www.slides.uni.trier.de/organisation/index.php?id=1000374. [Accessed 6/12/17]

¹⁷ *Post Office London Directory*, 1895, p. 505,

<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16445coll4/id/8845/rec/6> [Accessed 17/07/15].

¹⁸ 'Temperance Permanent Building Society', *The Illustrated London News*, 3 October 1891, p. 451.

the idea of increasing readership and circulation now became evermore central to the editor and executive committee of the Union. *Wings* was still available from the same sources as before but distribution and networks of dissemination were now even more crucial. Members were now perpetually encouraged to ensure the success of the journal, in *Wings*, at meetings, and in the annual report of the Union. For example, the annual report of 1896-7 reminded readers that 'now that the paper is our own the Committee hope the members will take a more active interest in it, and endeavour to further increase the circulation of their official organ'.¹⁹ This desire to ensure that *Wings* was a success explains the decision of the Union to remain in the connected London world of publishing and printing. Yet, the structure of the Union more broadly meant that the connections of the Union also stretched beyond the capital. With branches around the country, the Union was both local and national.

WTAU Structure

The very first annual report of the Union set out the terms of membership in three ways: for societies, local unions, and individual members. Firstly, existing women's temperance societies could become federated to the WTAU by 'adopting a pledge of Total Abstinence' and making an 'annual payment to the General Fund of 5s for every 50 or less members'.²⁰ Secondly, societies could also create a local union (made of six or more societies) and federate to the wider Union. If a local union had eight societies or less, the federation fee was £1 annually and if there were more than eight, an additional 2s 6d was required per branch. Interestingly, these smaller unions had to be approved by the national WTAU executive committee. This was not a common practice as most societies affiliated directly to the Union, rather than forming local unions. Interestingly though, some societies also had sub-branches, who were not directly affiliated to the wider Union, but instead were 'distinct branches' of the larger

¹⁹ *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1896-7, p. 30.

²⁰ *First Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 7.

society.²¹ In 1895-6, the annual report stated that Southampton had 'three distinct branches, formed by and attached to it, Kelvedon four, and Bedford one such dependency'.²² These were not treated as local unions though and there is no record that these sub-branches were approved by the executive. Rather, it appears that for a short time, in order to increase membership, the Union was willing to overlook official policy. The eighth annual report stated that there were 35 of these sub-branches but from the following year, this number was no longer reported in the annual report.²³ It is unclear whether this arrangement continued or whether these sub-branches then affiliated to the Union directly. Finally, individuals could subscribe to the Union as single members. There was no set fee for this, but women were expected to contribute to the funds of the Union. Indeed, in each annual report lists of annual subscriptions and donations were included but these are not separated from each other. The number of women who were single members cannot be quantified as these are recorded with the women who simply donated funds to the Union.

Overwhelmingly, membership and affiliation fees from branches and leagues were the largest source of income for the Union. Yet, financial difficulties were not uncommon. Women who donated funds to the Union were thanked within the pages of *Wings* and in each annual report, a section was given over to the recording of donations and contributions from individuals. To be only a reform worker was not sufficient, rather women were expected to also contribute financially to the upkeep of the group. The Union was frequently in financial difficulty and well-off members of the various committees often contributed funds to bail out the organisation. In March 1899, the minutes of the executive committee show that a scientific lecture event given by Mr W. N. Edwards led to a deficit of £3 6s 3d. This sum was donated by Mrs Finlay so that the event was not financially damaging to the Union.²⁴ It seems that the

²¹ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, p. 15.

²² *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, p. 15.

²³ *Eighth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1900-1901, p. 18.

²⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, March 1899.

Union was not well funded and rather that wealthy women disproportionately contributed to the costs of the Union. There are several instances where women members were asked to make up financial shortfalls.

In 1901, the Union sought to raise between an additional £800 and £1,000 of income to meet general expenses and that they would 'rely upon the members and friends to loyally assist them in obtaining this sum'.²⁵ Women were asked to contribute additional funds. In September 1906, the organisation was once again in financial difficulty. The executive recorded that they were in a 'serious position' and members were asked to 'endeavour to gain contributions to the funds'.²⁶ Women of the executive committee responded by stating that they would approach friends and other women for financial contributions and two members of the executive stated that they would be able to contribute £5 each themselves.²⁷ The Union was financially dependent on wider connections, as well as structurally.

In terms of the geographical structure of the Union, the office in Ludgate Hill was the home of the group's national headquarters and centre of the organisation. However, as outlined, the group was based on a branch structure with societies around the country. Each society was federated to the Union, yet carried out their own local work and agenda. It is important to note that the location of the branches may not be necessarily strategic as after the split in 1893, existing branches of the BWTA were forced to choose between remaining with the NBWTA and moving to work within the WTAU. The location of the branches is potentially random as they would have chosen the group with whom they identified most closely. In the first annual report of the WTAU there were 103 federated societies listed and by the end of their first full year of operation, this had grown to 143.²⁸ By 1895-6 this had grown

²⁵ WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1901.

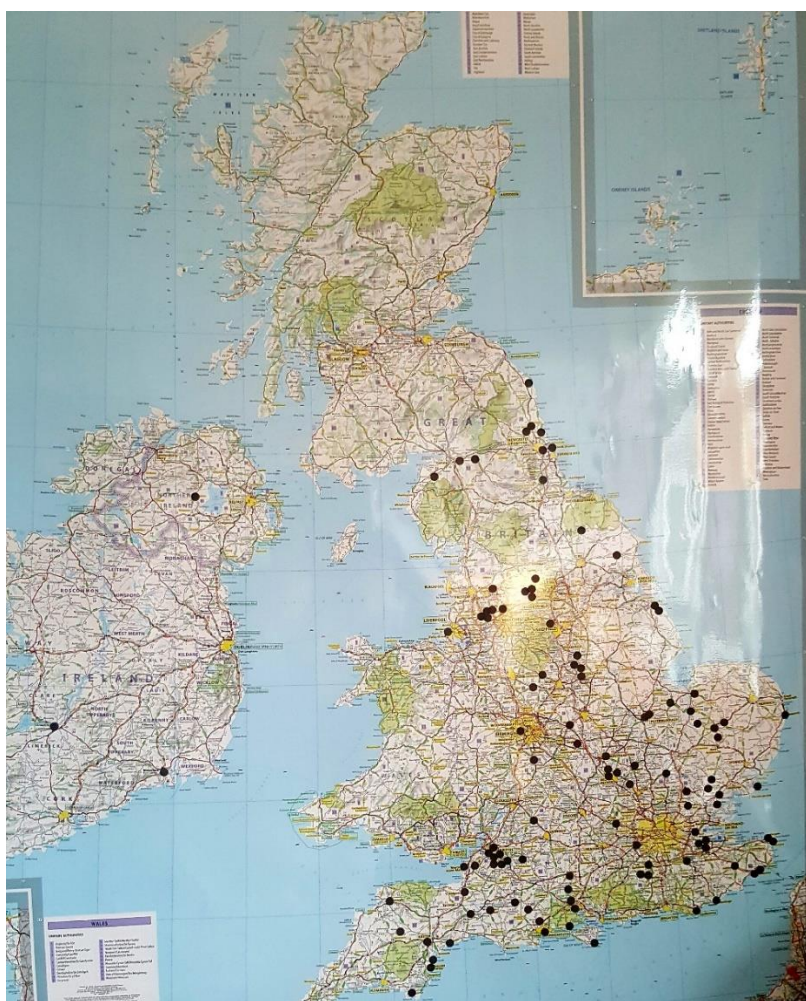
²⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, September 1906.

²⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, September 1906.

²⁸ *First Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 19-20 and *Second Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1894-5, p. 15.

again to 183.²⁹ By this point, branches were spread across the country from Kingsbridge in the south, to Newham in the north, and Limerick in the west, to Lowestoft in the east.³⁰

Fig 1.4 - Location of WTAU branches, 1895-6.



There were no branches in Scotland or Wales. Lloyd Morgan has undertaken a study of Welsh female temperance organisations and asserts that although they sought to work closely with their English counterparts they refused to join English associations, preferring instead to work independently.³¹ She states that in 1895, one of the largest

²⁹ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1895-6*, p. 15.

³⁰ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1895-6*. pp. 57-71.

³¹ Ceridwen Lloyd-Morgan, 'From Temperance to Suffragism', in *Our Mothers' Land: Chapters in Welsh Women's History, 1830-1939*, ed. by Angela V. John (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1991), pp. 135-58.

Welsh groups, the Undeb Dirwestol Merched Gogledd Cymru (UDMGC), opted to affiliate (not join) to the NBWTA rather than the WTAU.³² Megan Smitley has undertaken a study of female temperance organisations in Scotland and asserts that Scottish groups did not work with their English counterparts as they disagreed on policy. She argues that the most influential Scottish group, the British Women's Temperance Association Scottish Christian Union (BWTASCU), agreed with equal parliamentary enfranchisement whilst the England-based NBWTA did not.³³ Smitley here does not accurately reflect the work of the NBWTA. They did adopt the 'do everything' policy suggested by Lady Somerset and did work towards female enfranchisement. However, as the Scottish group were in favour of the franchise and worked openly and actively towards this, it seems likely that even if they had affiliated to an English group, this would not have been the WTAU. The Union did not have suffrage as one of their agreed areas of work. Rather, it seems that the WTAU were not popular or perhaps even well known in Wales and Scotland and were instead an overwhelmingly English group.

The Union was widespread yet based around the London centre. This area was most active with a concentration of 58 metropolitan branches. Although annual meetings were held each year in London, which members of federated societies could attend, it is unlikely that most members would ever have met one another, and Anderson's idea of an imagined community holds here. In the year 1895-6, there were 169 federated societies but only 77 federated societies attended the annual meeting. Typically, each of these branches sent a single representative, with only five societies sending two representatives and two societies sending three or more representatives.³⁴ These figures demonstrate that although the WTAU was a large

³² Lloyd-Morgan, p. 146.

³³ Smitley, *The Feminine Public Sphere: Middle-Class Women and Civic Life in Scotland, c. 1870 - 1914*, p. 9.

³⁴ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, pp. 46-71.

Union, with a high number of federated societies, each group was rather isolated, or only in touch with neighbouring societies.

Branches did receive guest speakers, and members of the executive and general committees addressed meetings around the country. The first annual report stated that many meetings had been 'addressed by members of the executive and other ladies who have volunteered their services for this important branch of our work'.³⁵ Yet, the Union was keen to see more women undertake work such as this, travelling between branches and speaking to meetings. They even employed national organisers to do this, and their work was held in particularly high regard. In the annual report of 1893-4, the Union highlighted the work of Mrs Enyon and Mrs Hawkes, the national organisers, and that it was 'impossible to tabulate or overestimate the valuable work' of the two in the previous six months.³⁶ Between them they addressed 167 meetings and secured 21 new federated branches.³⁷ These national organisers were employed by the Union to go around the country, addressing meetings, attempting to found new societies, and encourage existing female temperance organisations to federate to the WTAU, rather than any other national group. In July 1895, the executive committee sought to appoint another organiser, demonstrating a desire to expand and gain new members. The appointee, Miss Connell, was employed on a temporary basis, for an initial three months and was to be paid £100 per annum. This is the equivalent of around £41,000 in modern terms, a very large amount.³⁸ She had a clear role, based in the North-East of England, to 'collect subscriptions and sell literature', and was required to take two days off per week where she could not address meetings or hold engagements with 'outside societies'.³⁹ The committee also retained 'the right to send other organisers into Miss C's district'.⁴⁰

³⁵ *First Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 26.

³⁶ *First Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 25.

³⁷ *First Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 25.

³⁸ Conversion of £100 for 'labour earnings', <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/> [Accessed 06/07/2017].

³⁹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, September 1895.

⁴⁰ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, September 1895.

The role of these women is complex. They travelled the country, or a particular area of the country, spreading the word of the Union and securing federations to the national organisation, but were apparently largely autonomous as their financial costs; expenses and receipts, were recorded, passed, and approved without question. They were also seemingly indispensable to the Union as in May 1896, Mrs Hawkes resigned as an organiser and was replaced within a month by another, a Miss Wright.⁴¹ The Union was not willing to do without the organisers and the speed of the new appointment suggests that they were seen as a valuable part of the organisation. These women were an important source of connection as they travelled the country from branch to branch, but were also able to communicate policy and share accounts of reform work between local societies and the national group.

In addition to establishing and federating branches, the organisers were also required to sell literature, which provided another source of income for the Union. In the annual report of 1898-99, the work of the organisers was again highlighted as being vital to increasing the size of the WTAU, but the sales that each organiser had made were also recorded. Mrs Enyon had 'sold more than 700 copies of *Wings* in addition to other temperance literature', and Mrs Wright had sold 'upwards of 600 copies'.⁴² The work of the organisers and the outlay spent on their costs by the Union suggests that the group were concerned with growth and maximising potential income. They did not only rely on word of mouth or small scale efforts from existing members to strengthen their membership base and connections, but they actively employed individuals to undertake this work on their behalf. The Union was dependent on the connections between branches and organisers for success, and through the employment of the organisers, the Union was clearly attempting to expand and attract new members.

⁴¹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, June/July 1896.

⁴² *Sixth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1898-9, p. 24.

This effort to widen their reach and membership can also be seen in the ongoing and extensive attempts to establish associated Union leagues. These groups were independent but closely linked to the Union via affiliation. By 1910, affiliated leagues included the Nurses' National Total Abstinence League, Deaconesses' National Total Abstinence League, Teachers' National Total Abstinence League, Midwives' National Total Abstinence League, Laundresses' National Total Abstinence League, Girls' Own League and finally, a Babies' League.⁴³ The idea for these affiliated leagues came from a BWTA practice undertaken before the 1893 split. Based around a single profession, most leagues were made up of temperance women actually undertaking that profession, whether currently or in the past. Structurally, each of these leagues had a team of officers and committee members, and whilst some individuals held dual membership (members of the WTAU and a particular league), many were only members of a single league. In November 1895, the WTAU executive considered the 'arrangement of meetings for trained nurses similar to those held some time since in the BWTA'.⁴⁴ This idea was well received by the Union but a national league was not created until two years later. The group was intended to be a temperance group for all nurses, not just those within the Union who were nurses, and was founded in 1897 with the aim of uniting 'all Nurses who are Total Abstiners, and encourage them to enlist others in the Temperance Crusade'.⁴⁵ This strengthened the WTAU, broadening their reach and connection. Each league paid affiliation fees to the Union, yet, the relationship between league and Union was not always entirely positive. In their report in the 1901-2 WTAU annual report, the Nurses' League stated:

It is with regret that we again record the very scanty help we have received from the Branches of the Union with regard to meetings for

⁴³ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1910-1911*, p. 6.

⁴⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1895.

⁴⁵ *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1896-7*, p. 99.

nurses, and we trust that in future they will think of us more often, and help with greater vigour.⁴⁶

There were clear benefits to the WTAU in having federated leagues. The Union received income from leagues via an affiliation fee, increased their reach, and also had a broader potential audience for *Wings*, as each league purchased copies of the title to give to their own members. As seen in the above quotation though, the relationship between the federated leagues and the WTAU was problematic. Therefore, it must be questioned why groups continued their federation to the Union. Affiliation gave the league legitimacy and affiliation could have been a method of forming a distinct group for temperate members of a particular profession. Yet, it seems the benefits were limited. The Union apparently took scant interest in the leagues, not offering help with activities but still expected reports from these leagues on temperance activities undertaken and pledges taken.

There were many leagues and not all will be discussed in this thesis. Many were a somewhat predictable extension of Union work. For instance, the proclaimed health benefits of abstinence mean that nursing had a clear, professional link to temperance. But, this section will discuss two specific leagues to illustrate the aims of the Union, and their desire to make wider links within the temperance movement.

The Laundresses' League is perhaps unexpected and in this league a middle-class imposition can be seen. The other groups were comprised of professionals with a clear reforming message. Yet, the Laundresses' League was for laundresses, a gendered, working-class role. This league was overseen by only three officers: a president, vice-president and hon. secretary with no wider committee. Here, the league was apparently founded to undertake actual temperance reform and encourage temperance amongst laundresses, whereas the other leagues were to enable a professional group to band together to teach and preach the lessons of

⁴⁶ *Ninth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1901-2*, p. 102.

abstinence. This is an important distinction and enables a consideration of the aims of the Union. It is debatable whether the Union was a reforming society who actually undertook reform work or whether it was more of a social and philanthropic gathering of like-minded women. In *Wings* there are few examples of the Union actually going to the poor and undertaking reform work. The foundation and work of the Laundresses' League is one example of Union women actually entering the sphere of the working class. These are rare. It is noteworthy though that when the women of the Union entered this working-class sphere, it was a female-only arena as laundries were staffed by women and girls.

The Teachers' League is also of interest. Whilst most of these leagues were single sex in the same manner of the WTAU, the teachers' league was not. The committee of the league was 36 strong and eight of these were men. In 1910 it had 339 mixed-sex members and different secretaries for male and female members. The men's secretary was a Mr J.T. Rae who was listed in the 1911 census as 'Secretary And Editor [for] National Temperance League'. The National Temperance League (NTL) was an influential organisation which sought to encourage temperance through moral reform. It was created in 1856 via the merging of two societies, the National Temperance Society and the London Temperance League.⁴⁷ Mr Rae was listed in the census as working for this group but he also was listed in the WTAU annual report as the secretary of the Teachers' League. Interestingly though, he was not a teacher himself. It seems that the sex of Mr Rae allowed him to work in a professional organisation, even though he had not been a practicing member of that profession. The Teachers' League secretaries for women were Miss J. T. Sims and Miss Wright. In 1911 Miss Sims was listed in the census as a teacher. She boarded with the Hasson family in High Wycombe and the head of the household, Frederick Hasson,

⁴⁷ David M. Fahey, 'National Temperance League (NTL)', ed. by Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (California: ABC-CLIO Ltd, 2003), 443-44 (p. 443).

was a chair maker. In turn, Miss Wright lived alone and had an occupation not of teacher but of 'private means'. However, she was listed in the 1901 census as 'Temperance Lecturer'. The female secretaries were both teachers at some point but Mr Rae was apparently not. It seems feasible that as he was involved with the National Temperance League, this would have been seen as qualification enough. Working and making links with other temperance groups would provide the Union with legitimacy. Mr Rae provided a connection within the sole focus of temperance, but does demonstrate that the Union could not even work alone in one area of social reform. They worked with other groups and built links to legitimise their activities and to reach a greater number of people.

In spite of the intended purpose of the leagues, whether to undertake reform or to build links, there was a division between them and the wider Union. They were only affiliated, and not true members. Interestingly though, this division can also be seen in the relationship between the national body of the organisation and societies around the country. As with the leagues, the national body also carefully managed its branches, and communication to them, to ensure success for the wider Union. In November 1895, the executive committee discussed a recent conference in Sheffield and considered the balance sheet from the event. Although it was considered to have been well attended, there was a shortfall on the cost of hosting the event. Mrs Doncaster wrote to advise the executive that the Sheffield branch had contributed over £19 whilst a further deficit of over £18 had been made up by herself, Mrs H. J. Wilson and Mrs Wyeclyffe Wilson. The executive recorded their thanks to the women and branch for their contributions but then went on to state that if the totals were published in the annual report of the wider Union, other groups and branches would be deterred from hosting the conference in future. Rather, 'it was therefore resolved for the items to be merged in the general accounts, deducting from them such expenses as refreshments and conveyance to works as belonging properly to the

Sheffield association'.⁴⁸ The true cost of hosting the conference was not shown in the annual report, in an attempt to ensure that the Union could find local associations willing to host the conference in the following years. The Union kept information from the branches and they were firmly subordinate to the national body. Even internally, the Union was carefully managing its divisions and networks. It was structurally and financially dependent on the branches and leagues and yet these groups and relationships were controlled to ensure greatest success for the national group. When moving to consider external networks and connections though, the Union was even more cautious. They had been founded on a moment of disconnection and some within the group wanted to ensure that this remained.

Union Policy and Cross Working

The WTAU were founded on a moment of disconnection, as a sole-focus group. Yet, after the split, they entered a period of ongoing negotiation where they reworked their relationships within the wider reform world of charity and philanthropy. The remainder of this chapter explores the policy, cross working and affiliations of the Union, arguing that although they were founded on disconnection, they moved beyond this. However, there were those within the Union who sought to maintain this disconnection and work alone. For some years following the split, the sole focus of the group was a matter of internal contention.

Some Union members sought amendments to the scope of Union work and in 1898, Miss Hooker reported to the executive committee that she had been asked if the 'phrase "do everything policy" could not be altered or omitted' from Union documents.⁴⁹ The executive committee decided against this. In February 1901, the Hon Mrs Eliot Yorke, 'suggested that the words "in favour of the do everything policy" should be omitted from the statement which gives the history of the origin of the

⁴⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1895.

⁴⁹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, April 1898.

WTAU', but it was subsequently agreed that it was 'best to let the words remain'.⁵⁰ After the split, some members of the Union sought to drop the single issue focus, yet this was perpetually refused by the executive committee. In the second instance, in 1901, Mrs Yorke was at that point the President of the Union and it seems curious that her words and wishes had so little effect. The executive clearly wished to retain this wording and for the temperance-only distinction to be made between the activities of other groups and themselves. The general committee also considered the issue in October 1904 and Mrs Thomas said that 'she would be glad if the preface to the annual report could be worded differently'.⁵¹ Miss Dillon took this further and suggested that 'the preface be entirely omitted', yet the committee discussed it and the general feeling was 'in favour of making no change'.⁵² It appears that the stance of the Union as an organisation was not in line with elements of its wider membership. Yet, the wording remained and the Union maintained their single issue focus.

As the desire to focus on temperance alone was the given reason for the split, this is not surprising. However, importantly, Barrow asserts that the split was not due to the differences in opinion over reform issues but rather, an anti-American feeling within the executive.⁵³ The members who broke away, and formed the new executive committee, had concerns over Lady Henry Somerset, president of the BWTA, and her close relationship with Francis Willard, president of the WCTU and WWCTU. There appears to be some truth in Barrow's assertion, as the Union certainly had a problematic association with the WWCTU. However, it is of note that different members of the Union interacted differently with the worldwide group.

In July 1900, Mrs Wilson, a member of the Union executive committee, attended the conference of the WWCTU and read a note to the women there which outlined the temperance only stance of the Union. However, she also went on to state:

⁵⁰ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1901.

⁵¹ WTAU General Committee minutes, October 1904.

⁵² WTAU General Committee minutes, October 1904.

⁵³ Barrow, 'Temperate Feminists: The British Women's Temperance Association', p. 80.

As individuals, or as members of different societies each with its own object, most of us sympathise with and work for, many or all objects in your programme. We esteem it a duty and a privilege to co-operate with the opponents of the China opium traffic, with those who work for the promotion of international peace and arbitration so grievously hindered at the present time. We help in preventative, rescue and purity work; and we join in strenuous opposition to every system of official provision for immorality. We oppose these whether they be offered by individuals or by boards of guardians or by state secretaries of whatever disguise they may be presented. Time fails me to enumerate more of the objects about which we are in hearty sympathy with you.⁵⁴

Mrs Wilson went beyond the scope of the WTAU's work and spoke about other causes and movements in which she, and other members of the Union, were interested and involved. The opium question and social purity were two areas of Somerset's do everything policy which was rejected and yet, Mrs Wilson spoke about these specifically as being of interest to Union members. Indeed, as will be discussed at length in chapter five, some members of the Union, such as Mrs Wilson and Fanny Forsaith, editor of *Wings*, were actively working with Josephine Butler on social purity. Yet, these were areas of policy which apparently caused the schism. Additionally, Mrs Wilson's tone was conciliatory, even friendly, as she attempted to find commonalities between the Union and the WWCTU.

In comparison, in June 1910, the Union was asked to send a representative to the annual conference of the WWCTU, to be held in Glasgow. On this occasion, they would not send a speaker. Rather, the executive committee sent a note to the conference which stated:

⁵⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, July 1900.

The executive committee of the WTAU send cordial greetings to the WWCTU. They desire to express their goodwill to those who have organised the conference, as well as to those who have travelled to attend it ... Our Union is in thorough sympathy with your desires and endeavours to extend the principles and practice of temperance among all ranks of the community. Our own particular Union is so constituted that we confine our efforts to the propaganda of the fundamental truths of total abstinence among women and girls. Individually, our members are at liberty to exercise to the full their inclinations and opportunities for temperance reform, either by religious, social, educational, political, or other means, but as a body it has been deemed wise to confine attention to the one question of direct temperance effort ... The principles of the Union are disseminated by means of public and private meetings, house-to-house visitations, circulation of literature, and in many other practical ways.⁵⁵

This official note suggests that the Union and its members only undertook temperance work and no other area of work was mentioned. In comparison, the note from Mrs Wilson stated that many members not only sympathised with other causes, including those of the WWCTU, but also worked within them. The difference in tone between the two notes suggests that some members of the Union agreed with the work of the WWCTU. Yet, the tone of the letter from the WTAU as an organisation is much more abrupt, suggesting that they wished to keep themselves clearly apart. Once again, the disconnection created by the Union was officially maintained. However, this was now apparently extended beyond the schism between the BWTA and WTAU, to

⁵⁵ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, June 1910.

include the WCTU and WWCTU, most likely as a result of Somerset's relationship with Willard.

The executive committee was the driving force behind the WTAU and more powerful than the general committee. This uneven power dynamic is apparent as the executive committee decided policy and maintained relationships, as outlined above, whilst the minutes of the general committee suggest that this was merely a receptacle for the reports of the executive committee with very little, if any, real power. This uneven dynamic is reinforced as the executive apparently managed the general committee, as they did with the branches, and kept information from them, including the full extent of several approaches by the NBWTA to work together in later years. In October 1905, the WTAU executive received a notice from the NBWTA asking for a meeting to discuss the possibility of joint working in the West London area. No notice of this was recorded in the general committee minutes and no details were passed onto the local London branches. The executive 'agreed that it would not be wise to invite the officers of local societies to such a conference'.⁵⁶ The executive committee, having initiated the schism, wanted to maintain the disconnection and single issue focus. It did not want to work alongside the NBWTA. Yet, some members of the group realised the interconnections of nineteenth-century reform work and sought to amend policy to work with other groups and causes. Fascinatingly, here there is a disconnect between the executive committee and members of the Union more broadly.

This is further reinforced in branch activity. Local societies around the UK wrote to the executive committee, reporting work done in the local area and in one instance, a local branch wrote to the executive, advising them that they wished to join with a local group of the NBWTA and work together in the local area.⁵⁷ Both groups, the local WTAU and local NBWTA, believed that they would be better able to

⁵⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, October 1905.

⁵⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1904.

undertake reform work by joining together as neighbours. The Union strongly discouraged this and the executive sent representatives to the Union branch in order to dissuade this action. Against the wishes of the executive, the local affiliation went ahead and the executive subsequently demanded that the letters of the WTAU come before the NBWTA in any joint literature.⁵⁸ The WTAU executive clearly sought to remain separate from the NBWTA and the WWCTU. However, rank and file members and even some high-profile members, were happy to work alongside other reform groups.

Clearly, differences remained between the two groups, and the Union refused to work with the NBWTA. But, when high-profile women became involved these issues were dealt with in a more delicate manner. In 1895, the executive committee of the WTAU wrote to Lady Fry asking if she would consider speaking at a public meeting for the Union and also if she would consent to nomination for vice president of the WTAU. The reply was that 'Lady Fry wrote that she could not accept the invitation to address the public meeting', but she consented 'to nomination as vice president - if the committee wished it in the face of the fact that she is a vice president of the Darlington ladies society in affiliation with the [N]BWTA and that she sometimes addresses [N]BWTA meetings'.⁵⁹ Lady Fry asserted that her sympathies were with the Union and her notice and nomination were accepted with her subsequent election as vice president.⁶⁰ Lady Fry (1837-1897), a Quaker, was seemingly progressive, encouraging 'women's active involvement in party politics'.⁶¹ She had been raised within a traditional, Quaker household, a religion closely aligned with the temperance movement.⁶² In spite of their actions to distance themselves from the NBWTA and WWCTU, the WTAU were happy to accept Lady Fry as vice president. Here, the

⁵⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1904.

⁵⁹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, April 1895.

⁶⁰ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, p. 5.

⁶¹ Linda Walker, 'Fry, Sophia', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/56104> [accessed 27/10/15].

⁶² Margaret Barrow, 'Nonconformists (United Kingdom)', ed. by Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, Calif: ABC-CLIO Ltd, 2003), 456-57 (p. 456).

Union was happy to make connections to, and have members who were also associated with, the NBWTA. High-profile women could bring reputation and prestige to the organisation and so in this instance, concerns about close links were overlooked.

The Union also negotiated new connections with other women, even if they were also working in other groups. In early 1897, the executive committee wrote to Mrs Creighton, asking her to be a part of the Union. They received a reply whereby she stated that 'she was sorry to be unable to grant the committees request, not being quite in sympathy with the WTAU and preferring the double basis of the CET Society'.⁶³ In the same month, the executive also received a reply from Dr May Scharhit who stated that she was 'sorry she could not associate herself with the WTAU being a devoted member of the CET Society'. The Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) was founded in 1873 and Gerald Olsen asserts that it was 'the most far-reaching, prestigious and influential temperance society in Victorian Britain'.⁶⁴ This success seems to have stemmed from the 'dual basis' of the organisation, which preached teetotalism for the working-class majority, whilst allowing higher class members to drink in moderation, for social and medical reasons. Temperance has been stereotypically viewed as a middle-class imposition on the working class, as discussed in the introduction to this thesis, and this differentiation within the CETS certainly reinforces this. However, it must be remembered that the CETS was simply one society, albeit one of the largest. Others, including the WTAU preached total abstinence for all, and required women members of all classes to abstain from alcohol in its entirety. The total abstinence stance of the WTAU was clearly unattractive to some prospective members. However, that the Union wrote to these women and asked them to join their organisation demonstrates that the Union

⁶³ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1897.

⁶⁴ Gerald Wayne Olsen, 'Church of England Temperance Society', ed. by Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (California: ABC-CLIO Ltd, 2003), 155-56 (p. 155).

actively sought to increase their membership, even if the women in question were also working within other groups.

The interconnections of nineteenth-century reform, between people and organisations, meant that the likelihood of women working only within a single organisation, and only for a single issue, was low. The Union sought to attract new members, even if they worked within other groups, and some within the Union sought to remove the temperate-only focus and be enabled to work within other areas of social reform, as part of WTAU policy. Although the Union maintained its initial disconnection from the NBWTA and WWCTU, it could not do this with the wider reform world. In minutes of the executive and general committees of the Union, questions of cross working and affiliation were constantly considered. Here, the group underwent a series of careful negotiations, moving from discreet co-working to open affiliation.

Networks and Affiliation

In remaining in London, the Union remained connected to printing and publishing networks, as well as situating itself more firmly in temperance networks. In turn, the internal structure of the Union was dependent on connections. Yet, likely due to the acrimonious schism, its official policy sought to position the group in disconnection to the NBWTA and WWCTU. The Union were keen to maintain their sole focus. Yet, the Union did negotiate new relationships across the wider reform world and informally networked with other groups, before undertaking later formal affiliation. There is a distinction to be made here - informal networks merely consisted of groups working together, whilst affiliation involved the payment of fees from one organisation to another in a more formal arrangement.

From their foundation, the Union formally affiliated to a number of specifically temperance-focused organisations. This reinforced their single-issue focus but did mean that they worked in clear connection with other temperance groups. Their first

annual report stated that they paid an affiliation fee of £1, 1s to the National Temperance Federation and a subscription of 5s to the United Kingdom Alliance, both national temperance groups. The number of affiliations gradually increased in number, and in 1897 peaked at eight. The organisations the Union affiliated to at this point and the cost of each can be seen below.

Fig 1.5 - WTAU affiliations, 1897.⁶⁵

	£	s	d
Temperance Central Evidence Board	10	0	0
Do. Donations	5	8	6
Temperance Official Guild	0	10	0
Sunday School Union	2	2	0
London United Temperance Council	0	10	0
North of England Temperance League	1	1	0
National Temperance Federation	1	1	0
United Kingdom Alliance	0	5	0
Prohibition Convention	2	2	0

It is unknown what 'Do. Donations' referred to and so this has not been included as an organisation as such. Of the remainder, only the Sunday School Union are not specifically, solely temperance focused and yet this affiliation does reinforce the image of Union members as respectable, middle-class, religious, philanthropic women. In affiliating with specifically temperance organisations, the Union was working within a wider movement and thus legitimised. Women of the Union often attended meetings and demonstrations arranged by temperance-focused groups, working in cooperation, however, it seems that affiliation to these groups was perhaps

⁶⁵ *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1896-7*, p. 92.

not as unquestioning as may be expected. In January 1900, a Mr G. A. Smith wrote to the executive 'asking that a circular inviting the metropolitan societies of the WTAU to become affiliated with the London Auxiliary of the UKA might be endorsed by an official of the Union'.⁶⁶ The committee considered the issue and 'resolved that the circular be not endorsed but that a list of our metropolitan societies be sent to Mr Smith so that the circulars can be forwarded to the secretaries'.⁶⁷ The Union was not prepared to endorse the affiliation of their branches directly to the UKA. The foundation of the United Kingdom Alliance (UKA) in 1853 represented a shift in the British temperance movement as they moved from preaching teetotalism to individuals, to influencing government policy and working for the introduction of a 'Maine Law' to the United Kingdom.⁶⁸ The group signified a move from moral suasion to legislative compulsion, terms coined by Brian Harrison in *Drink and the Victorians*, and considered at length in chapter five. Due to the sole temperance focus of both groups, it could be expected that the Union would be in full support of the UKA, and indeed, they often shared a platform. However, demonstrated in their 1900 note to the WWCTU, they believed that political action was not the most effective method of promoting temperance. The Union was prepared to affiliate broadly with the group and work together for the temperance cause where possible, but not for individual branches to affiliate. Rather, the WTAU sought to control their branches and ensure that they could not expand the remit of the group.

However, the Union also considered the question of affiliation and connection to other, non-temperance groups. In 1896, the executive committee discussed the suggestion that the WTAU should affiliate with the Society for Promoting the Employment of Women (SPEW). Created in 1859, SPEW grew out of Langham Place and was primarily concerned with seeking economic independence for women.

⁶⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, January 1900.

⁶⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, January 1900.

⁶⁸ John Greenaway, 'United Kingdom Alliance (UKA)', ed. by Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (California: ABC-CLIO Ltd, 2003), 627-28 (p. 627).

Michelle Tusan asserts that their 'radical programme' was concerned with 'reimagining traditional definitions of women's work'.⁶⁹ In July 1896, the Union executive committee discussed the idea of affiliation with SPEW, but decided to postpone the decision until the September committee meeting.⁷⁰ Subsequently, the issue was not discussed in the September meeting, or indeed, at any point thereafter. It is of note that the meeting in July was well attended by the vast majority of the committee with seventeen of twenty-three members present. In the following month, only eight members of the executive attended the meeting, a more usual attendance level. The high numbers of attendees suggest that it would have been a good opportunity to discuss this affiliation, and yet the conversation and decision were deferred. Clearly, there was a relationship of sorts between the two organisations as affiliation was suggested, yet a discussion was not had and an official decision was not reached.

Similarly, in November of the same year, affiliation with the National Union of Women Workers (NUWW) was raised. The NUWW was founded in 1895 'as a response to the unsatisfactory working conditions faced by many women at the time'.⁷¹ This group was an umbrella organisation, formed of differing women's groups of the period including the Mothers' Union, the Women's Suffrage Society, the Huddersfield Inebriates Kitchen, and the Women's Local Government Society.⁷² Affiliated groups spanned a variety of special interests, from the respectable to the controversial and the NUWW became 'interested in identifying and developing issues that involved women's capacity to affect policy agendas'.⁷³ Yet, it was not explicitly

⁶⁹ Tusan, p. 32.

⁷⁰ WTAU Executive Committee Minutes, July 1896.

⁷¹ 'History', The National Council of Women of Great Britain <http://www.ncwgb.org/history/> [accessed 1/9/16].

⁷² Andrea Geddes Poole, *Philanthropy and the Construction of Victorian Women's Citizenship: Lady Frederick Cavendish and Miss Emma Cons* (London: University of Toronto Press, 2014), pp. 53-54.

⁷³ Poole, p. 53.

concerned with suffrage and indeed, some at the executive level sought to ensure that it did not become 'merely another suffrage society'.⁷⁴

The WTAU worked with the NUWW and attended their conferences. In September 1896, three members of the Union, Miss Docwra, Mrs Finlay and Dr Annie McColl, attended the NUWW annual conference in Manchester, whilst Mrs Finlay and Dr McColl also delivered papers there.⁷⁵ After the conference, one of the attendees reported back to the executive committee and proposed formal affiliation with the NUWW, however this was deferred until January 1897.⁷⁶ Once more though, the issue was not subsequently discussed at the assigned time and the issue was forgotten. Two similar instances of formal affiliation being raised and deferred, suggests that this was a strategy employed by the Union. Formal affiliation was not accepted, but neither was it refused outright.

This chapter proposes that some executive members of the Union did not wish to formally affiliate with potentially controversial organisations such as the NUWW and SPEW, yet did not want to formally refuse and risk damage to existing relationships and networks. Therefore, any discussion was postponed and never returned to. A decision was never made. Instead, the Union discreetly worked with organisations such as this, maintaining the appearance of a sole temperate focus yet gaining strength and networking opportunities.

Even after rejecting formal affiliation, the Union did still work with both SPEW and the NUWW. In December 1897, the WTAU took a stall at a bazaar held by SPEW.⁷⁷ In the same year, a further link was made between the Union and the NUWW as Mrs H. J. Wilson was unanimously appointed to be the ongoing representative of the Union on the general committee of the NUWW.⁷⁸ Mrs Wilson's

⁷⁴ Julia Bush, 'The National Union of Women Workers and Women's Suffrage', in *Suffrage Outside Suffragism; Women's Vote in Britain, 1880-1914*, ed. by Myriam Boussahba-Bravard (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), pp. 105-31 (p. 106).

⁷⁵ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, September 1896.

⁷⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1896.

⁷⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, December 1897.

⁷⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, July 1897.

husband was Henry Joseph Wilson MP, a liberal politician who worked closely with Josephine Butler on the issue of contagious diseases.⁷⁹ Due to her husband's political and social reform interests, it is likely that Mrs Wilson was herself enabled to undertake potentially controversial work.

This informal working continued for some time and only in 1904-5 was it resolved. In the annual report of that year, the WTAU listed a cost of 5s as being sent to the NUWW for affiliation.⁸⁰ This payment continued to be made beyond the timescale of this thesis and was still listed in the annual report for 1914 - 1915.⁸¹ Yet, there is no evidence to suggest that this affiliation was discussed and decided upon by the executive committee, as no mention of this was made in the minutes at the time. It was not mentioned by the executive until 1906, when the minutes stated that the 'usual subscription of 5/-' was paid for several years.⁸² The Union now made formal connections with groups not working in temperance reform. They moved from informal, discreet co-working to formal affiliation.

However, the work of the NUWW appeared largely irrelevant to the Union. At conferences year after year, temperance was either not discussed at all or only as a fringe topic. In 1900 'the references to the question of temperance were slight' and yet affiliation was completed years after this.⁸³ In 1906, after affiliation, several representatives attended the NUWW conference but they reported that 'the subject of temperance was kept out of the discussion'.⁸⁴ Later, in 1908, Mrs Gibson attended yet another NUWW conference and reported back to the general committee that she 'was sorry to find that the subject of temperance was not included in the programme'.⁸⁵ By this point the Union had been attending NUWW conferences for many years and as temperance was clearly not a priority for the NUWW, the Union's

⁷⁹ M Hewitt, 'Wilson, Henry Joseph', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50958> [Accessed 04.11.15].

⁸⁰ *Twelfth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1904-5, p. 75.

⁸¹ *Twenty-Second Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1914-1915, p. 29.

⁸² WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May 1906.

⁸³ WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1900.

⁸⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1906.

⁸⁵ WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1908.

continued affiliation and attendance at their meetings is curious. The Union stated their desire to work only on temperance and yet worked with and affiliated to groups for whom this was not a priority. Indeed, they not only worked with the group but the Union also advertised themselves in the leaflet for, and report of, the NUWW conference.⁸⁶ As the reason for the schism was given as a desire to only work within temperance, this thesis suggests that initially, networking and cross working was undertaken discreetly. They worked with other groups informally, and it was not until early in the twentieth century that the group formally affiliated to any groups who were not explicitly working for temperance. At this point however, they openly returned to the wider connected world of reform work.

The Union also worked with other non-temperance groups and attended meetings concerned with the wider role and place of women. In 1896, the Union received a letter from a member, Miss Charlotte Grey, regarding an upcoming meeting of the Congress of Women in Paris. An international event, the Congress of Women had occurred twice before.⁸⁷ Charlotte reported that the congress had added alcoholism to the programme and would welcome a paper from the Union on temperance.⁸⁸ The Union executive asked Charlotte to prepare one paper, Mrs Terrell to prepare a second paper in French, and Miss Richardson to prepare a third. Three women were asked to prepare papers for the conference but temperance was merely one subtopic among many others. WTAU women would have attended the congress and only seemingly spent a small proportion of their time there concerned with temperance. It should also be noted that in 1896, there was no mention in *Wings* or the annual reports that anyone was asked to write a paper, that they did so, or that they attended the conference. This co-working and connection was not made public to the wider Union. There was no mention in Union literature of the Paris Congress

⁸⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, September 1903 and November 1905.

⁸⁷ For a brief discussion on Paris Congresses see Siân Reynolds, *Paris-Edinburgh: Cultural Connections in the Belle Époque* (Routledge, 2016), p. 184.

⁸⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1896.

until the eighth annual report in 1900 where a small insert under 'kindred societies' stated that 'an "adhesion" and paper on the work of the WTAU was sent to the Women's Congress held in Paris last July'.⁸⁹ This annual report also showed financial affiliation to the Congress as a payment of 8s, 3d was made.⁹⁰ The affiliation fee was only paid in 1900 and does not reappear in subsequent years. The Congress was not mentioned again until 1902 when 'a letter re the report of the second international women's congress, held in Paris in 1900, was laid on the table'.⁹¹ Interestingly, the content of the letter was not recorded in the minutes of the group. In spite of the lack of communication via *Wings* or official literature, the Union was represented at at least two International Congresses of Women. It appears that those in control of the Union did not necessarily report attendance at each conference or new affiliations to the wider membership and/or the reasons for this. The Union managed communications with the branches, only disclosing information as they deemed appropriate.

This chapter suggests that although the schism appeared to be a moment of decisive break, the Union continued to work in wider networks of temperance and broader reform topics. The WTAU distanced itself from the NBWTA, both physically and in terms of its work, and refused to work with them. However, when examining the Union and its connections more broadly, it was not disconnected. In moving to Ludgate Hill, the Union was situated in a world of temperance work. Further, the initial affiliations to specifically temperance groups demonstrate that the Union did attempt to maintain its asserted sole focus, the given reason for the schism. The refusal of the executive committee to amend the wording of their constitution can also be seen as an attempt to justify their actions in the schism. They wished to maintain the appearance of a sole focus. However, when considering non-temperance focused groups, the issue of cross working and affiliation becomes more complex.

⁸⁹ *Eighth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1900-1901, p. 25.

⁹⁰ *Eighth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1900-1901, p. 69.

⁹¹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1902.

Discussions here were deferred to a later date but were never completed. This chapter suggests that the Union negotiated new boundaries and relationships carefully, and that the moment of the schism was not a definitive break with the wider reform world. The Union worked in informal networks and it was not until early in the twentieth century that any formal, non-temperance affiliations were completed. After this point, the Union affiliated to groups examining women's role and place more widely and even attended international meetings considering this topic. As the Union was attempting to establish itself and seeking legitimacy, it was necessary to keep the single focus firmly at the forefront of their work and only in later years, were they able to undertake wider affiliations and cross working. For example, in 1909, the general committee reported that a bureau had opened on New Oxford Street for 'the employment of women' and 'for the sale of publications of any women's society'.⁹² The committee had decided to subscribe 'one guinea annually, trusting it will result in a larger sale of our literature'.⁹³ Although the reason for subscription was given as a desire to increase the sale of *Wings* and associated literature, the venue where this would be sold is noteworthy, a venue where women's employment would be considered and promoted. The NUWW and SPEW concentrated predominantly on female employment, and here the Union was taking an active, albeit late, interest in women's employment. The Union was becoming more concerned with aspects of the everyday lives of their women readers. This wider interest can be seen in the activities of the group, but also within their journal. *Wings* needed to be commercially viable, whilst also appealing to Union women readers, and touching on various aspects of their lives. It did not merely appeal to them as temperance women, but as mothers, wives, and domestic managers, whilst also utilising aspects of New Journalism to ensure readers were entertained and likely to return.

⁹² WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1909.

⁹³ WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1909.

Chapter Two: The World of *Wings*

In the second half of the nineteenth century three key factors combined to create a mass expansion in the periodical press. The abolition of stamp duty and other taxes on knowledge (1855 and 1861), technological advances in publishing and printing, and rising literacy rates, ensured that in 1892, *Wings* emerged into an already crowded market.¹ The press for women underwent perhaps the most notable expansion and, by the end of the nineteenth century, 'women were consumers of magazines on a scale unimaginable a century earlier'.² This chapter considers the issue of female reading before undertaking an in-depth examination of *Wings*. It approaches the periodical in three key ways. Firstly, via a consideration of the journal's name and aims, it argues that *Wings* was not a reforming tool per se, but rather a representation of, and instructional manual for, the Union. Secondly, *Wings* is located in the expanded periodical press, via a contextual examination of comparable periodicals. This section argues that *Wings* was not only a temperance journal, appealing to women as temperance reformers, but rather, it was a hybrid journal. It was a temperance title as well as a lifestyle journal, and adopted practices of New Journalism.³ Consequently it pushed at the boundaries of its own respectability. This section also considers the complex and contradictory of female construction. Readers of the titles considered in this section were deemed to be domestic creatures but also as powerful consumers. Thirdly, and finally, this chapter considers the commerciality of the journal, arguing that it was financially problematic to the Union, and cost more to produce, print, and post, than it recouped.

¹ For a detailed discussion on the development and abolition of paper/duty taxes and the development of the periodical press see Martin Hewitt, *The Dawn of the Cheap Press in Victorian Britain: the End of the 'Taxes on Knowledge', 1849-1869* (2013), Jeremy Black, *The English Press 1621-1861* (2001), *Papers for the Millions: The New Journalism in Britain, 1850s to 1914*, ed. by Joel Wiener (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988), and Martin Conboy, *The Press and Popular Culture* (London: Sage Publications, 2002).

² Ros Ballaster et al, *Women's Worlds; Ideology, Femininity and the Woman's Magazine* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1991), p. 75.

³ New Journalism proposed entertainment over education and initially created shock and alarm. Intended to amuse and attract a repeat readership, it used a series of features including investigative journalism, competitions, jokes, serial fiction, and 'titbits'.

For the second section of analysis and comparison, a range of titles have been selected, each representative of a particular genre. Broadly, they include general magazines, fashion titles, magazines of social and cultural reform groups, and magazines aimed at children. These were all key aspects of the female experience at the end of the nineteenth century. *Wings* (1892-1926) will be analysed alongside *Woman's Signal* (1894-99), *Shafts* (1892-1899), *The Shield* (1870-1900), *Hearth and Home* (1891-1914), *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion* (1875-1912), *Girl's Own Paper* (1880-1927), and *The Lady's Realm* (1896-1915). In order to undertake a reliable comparison, sample issues have (when possible) been selected from the same period, May 1894. This period was selected as being the first year that *Wings* was solely under the control of the Union and as a period when each magazine was relatively well-established. This section charts the market into which *Wings* entered and operated. However, it is acknowledged that these sample issues are distinctly of their time and, whilst comparisons and conclusions can be drawn from them, they are not indicative of the entire print run of the title.

Female Reading and the Women's Periodical Press

Kate Flint states that the concept of the woman reader:

demonstrates contradictions and paradoxes which inhered within nineteenth-century notions of gender. From one point of view, reading was a form of consumption associated with the possession of leisure time, and thus contributed to the ideology, if not always the practices, which supported the ideal of the middle-class home. Yet it could also be regarded as dangerously useless, a thief of time which might be spent on housewifely duties... reading was associated with women's "inappropriate" educational ambition.⁴

⁴ Kate Flint, *The Woman Reader 1837-1914* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), p. 11.

In the nineteenth century, female reading was a controversial subject.⁵ Leisure time to read was a marker of social status and yet the practice of reading itself was considered potentially dangerous. In an 1853 treatise on the treatment of hysteria, a predominantly female ailment, Robert Brudenell Carter asserted that excessive reading should be carefully watched. Suitable books and authors should be selected, he argued, and the reader examined to make sure that reading was being undertaken in the best way.⁶ Although debates around the appropriateness of reading were concerned with both sexes, the effect on women was more keenly debated as they were deemed to need particular protection from inappropriate material. The 1860s, the 'sensation decade', drew further attention to this issue of appropriateness of content.⁷ As women were held to be responsible for the morality of their wider family, and implicitly wider society, it was imperative that their moral compass remained clear. If it was not, then institutions such as marriage, the family, and even society more broadly were considered to be at risk. As a result, debates on reading were tied with wider debates on the very nature of womanhood and Lynne Pykett asserts that from that the mid-century onwards, 'woman, womanhood and womanliness all became contested terms'.⁸ In spite of these concerns, female reading increased. Yet, there is a distinction to be drawn between different modes of reading. Novel reading was deemed to be problematic and articles were published including warnings of 'the vice of reading' and the dangers of 'the novel reading disease'.⁹ However, the periodical press provided a source of entertainment and education and was invited into middle-class homes in great numbers.

⁵ For detail on specifically female reading in the nineteenth century, see Flint; Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2012); Margaret Beetham, 'Women and the Consumption of Print', in *Women and Literature in Britain, 1800-1900*, ed. by Joanne Shattock (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 55-77; Cynthia L White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1970); Hilary Fraser, Stephanie Green, and Judith Johnston, *Gender and the Victorian Periodical* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008).

⁶ Robert Brudenell Carter, *On the Pathology and Treatment of Hysteria* (1853), pp.135-6, detailed in Flint, pp. 58-59.

⁷ See Lyn Pykett, *The Sensation Novel from 'The Woman in White' to 'The Moonstone'* (Plymouth: Northcote House, 1994), p. 1.

⁸ Pykett, p. 44.

⁹ 'The Vice of Reading', *Temple Bar*, September 1874, pp. 251-57, and 'The Novel Reading Disease', *Examiner*, 26 August 1871, pp. 848-49.

A distinct note must be made here between working and middle-class reading. Beetham asserts that 'material conditions made regular purchase of even relatively cheap printed matter beyond the reach of working women'.¹⁰ Therefore, in order to facilitate success 'most magazines targeted the middle class and offered explicitly bourgeois models of feminine behaviour'.¹¹ This was successful as 'middle-class women read more books and periodicals than any other group'.¹² The *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* (1852-79) was one of the first periodicals to achieve success with a firmly middle-class audience, focusing largely on issues of domestic management with contributions from Isabella Beeton, soon to be recognised for her own book on household management. The magazine was extremely popular and within two years of its initial publication had reached sales of 25,000 copies per month, demonstrating a clear demand.¹³ As the name suggests, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* was largely focused on domesticity and it must be noted that as a consequence it generally maintained the accepted hegemony. This was perhaps one of the reasons for its success. However, as the female periodical press expanded throughout the century, the breadth of titles increased and ensured that there were magazines which were able to challenge and question the status quo. The expansion of the women's press, and particularly reform and pressure periodicals, began to encourage women readers to move beyond their imagined reading community, to leave the home and begin to engage within the feminine public sphere.

This thesis is concerned with the construction of middle-class reform workers and this chapter predominantly examines the periodical press in relation to middle-class femininity. Journals aimed at the middling classes sought to attract respectable women readers, but an examination of their contents reveals that respectability was

¹⁰ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 7.

¹¹ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 7.

¹² Beetham, 'Women and the Consumption of Print', p. 59.

¹³ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 45.

always just out of reach. Beetham asserts that this respectable femininity was 'simultaneously assumed as given and as still to be achieved.'¹⁴ This contradiction of already achieved and yet still to be achieved respectable femininity can be seen in competing discourses in nineteenth-century women's magazines. Women were advised how to present themselves. They were provided with role models to emulate, and had to continually endeavour to both achieve and maintain their status.

In this complex and contradictory arena, *Wings* is worthy of study. The practice of middle-class female reading remained indicative of leisure time but as the mouthpiece of a reforming organisation, this leisure time was deemed to be in use already, undertaking temperance reform activities. Additionally, the 'danger' of reading and the 'inappropriateness' of this is curious. It was through female reading that *Wings* was able to advise Union members in matters of education and encourage them to undertake reform work. The journal was a vital tool to the Union and to women reformers. Tusan states that community 'was made tangible for many participants through contact facilitated through the pages of their own papers'.¹⁵ This contact provided readers with the emotional connection outlined in the introduction to this work. *Wings* created a community which both strengthened the Union and from which reformers could take strength. Women could figuratively meet via *Wings* and participate in an imagined, and emotional, community. It was perhaps this awareness and confidence which enabled women of the Union to continue in their efforts. Via the journal, they were aware that they were not alone in their work; others were also taking part, and facing the same challenges and rewards. *Wings* continually reminded its women readers of this simultaneity with news and work from branches included in each issue, strengthening this community. *Wings* readers were part of a specifically female, temperance focused, imagined community of readers.

¹⁴ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 1.

¹⁵ Tusan, p. 3.

Wings

As the official mouthpiece of the WTAU the journal was closely related to the group. This section examines *Wings* in two ways before undertaking a contextual examination of the marketplace into which it entered and operated. Firstly, it analyses the name of the magazine, arguing that it was selected in order to assist in the respectable construction of its women reform workers. Secondly, via material from within the journal, it considers the aims of the organisation and the intended audience of the journal. It argues that although *Wings* was the mouthpiece of a reforming organisation, it was intended to be used by the women of the Union, rather than as a reforming tool per se.

Hilary Fraser et al suggest that simply through considering the title of a particular journal, it is possible to ascertain details about the readership.¹⁶ When *Wings* was launched there was no detailed discussion of the name, only a brief mention in their column 'for the children'. In the first issue, a child reader, Flossie Shepherd, contributed to the column with speculation on the choice of name, writing 'Mother says it is because you fly all over England to carry news, but I think it is because you want to try and make people good, like Angels'.¹⁷ Given that this appeared within the first issue, it is probable that Flossie and her explanation were invented by the paper. Even if this child existed, the paper's decision to print her explanation without critique suggests that they intended the title to have clear religious connotations. This angelic ideal was revisited in 1902 when the general committee noted that a child aged three had visited the offices with her Aunt and upon seeing the cover of the journal had recognised angel wings. The committee recorded that her reaction demonstrated that:

The paper may well be compared to an angel of light, scattering the darkness of ignorance and error by the power of truth. An angel of

¹⁶ Fraser, Green, and Johnston, p. 58.

¹⁷ *Wings*, October 1892. p. 118.

mercy inducing many to leave the path that leads to degradation and misery for that of abstinence and peace.¹⁸

The choice of name would doubtlessly have been calculated. It alluded to the potential of temperance to set people free from the perils of the demon drink. However, in addition, the name also suggests that the women readers of *Wings*, and by extension Union members, were angelic and pure. There is a duality in the title as the Union was hoping to set others free from alcohol and degradation, but they themselves were elevated as doing good work, driven by religion and piety. The name aids the respectable representation of the Union.

Fig 2.1 - Front cover of *Wings* (specific angelic imagery), January 1895.



The aims of the Union can be considered via the availability and intended audience of the journal. The low cost of *Wings*, at one penny per issue, signifies a desire to be accessible to all. This is reinforced by the notices of availability in the journal which stated:

¹⁸ WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1902.

Wings can be had through any bookseller or newsagent; through Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Limited, Paternoster Row, and 317 Strand; or from the office of the WTAU publishing Co., Limited, 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill, and from the offices of the Irish Temperance League, 18 Lombard Street, Belfast.¹⁹

The availability notice states that *Wings* was available from any newsagent or bookseller as well as a variety of alternative locations. Cost and availability combined show that the Union was concerned with attracting a wide audience. Neither cost nor availability would hinder this. But, although these factors are important, they do not consider the full range of potential readers. Beetham states that she discovered bound copies of 'improving magazines' with names of borrowers neatly written inside the front cover.²⁰ This account neatly describes the possibility of multiple readers whereby one magazine could be shared between several individuals. Indeed, in a domestic handbook of 1893, Mrs Panton discusses this very issue, as she advises young women on the best ways to set up and manage their home. She states that in the drawing room there should be:

Plenty of books and magazines, obtainable from a library; or by judicious exchanges among friends or acquaintances made by advertising: for it is astonishing how many papers can be seen by a clever person, who can manage to exchange the one or two she takes in for one or two more, that in their turn go on again in exchange for others.²¹

The drawing room was a firmly middle-class space and a middle-class readership begins to emerge here. A magazine becomes something to be shared between friends and acquaintances. This expectation can be seen within *Wings*. Readers were

¹⁹ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 64.

²⁰ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 50.

²¹ J. E. Panton, *From Kitchen to Garret: Hints for Young Householders*, Ward and Downey, 1893 (London: Old House, 2011), p. 95.

urged to 'keep it [*Wings*] constantly on your drawing-room table, lend it to your friends, obtain fresh subscribers, introduce it into every reading-room, club, institution, railway waiting room, and bookstall'.²² These first suggestions are firmly middle-class and it becomes clear that the Union intended *Wings* to be distributed more widely than the group itself. However, the second part of this statement asks readers to introduce it into other public arenas. In November 1896, one of these aims was achieved as the executive committee reported that permission had been secured to 'place *Wings* on the tables of the Free Library in Whitechapel'.²³ Notably, though, this permission was secured by Mr Snell, the husband of Mrs Snell, a member of the executive committee. The ladies of the WTAU were not able to gain this permission themselves. Instead, a man associated with the group first had to deem the material suitable and then recommend it to the male librarian.

When examining content from the journal, though, it is clear that the Union positioned the journal as a reforming tool to be used by WTAU members, rather than by those who were to be reformed. The magazine can be understood as an instructional manual of reform work, instead of addressing those of the working and lower classes directly. In both 1893 and 1894, articles were included advising readers to go into mothers' meetings and address working class women. In May 1894, the date of the sample issue selected, the focus was on educating working-class women on the benefits of teetotalism, showing them that there was 'no actual nourishment in alcohol'. Rather, Union women were encouraged to tell lower-class women attending the meeting about the 'physical comforts and spiritual blessings which follow in the wake of total abstinence'.²⁴ The article tells women of the Union how to reform rather

²² *Wings*, October 1892, p. 114.

²³ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1896.

²⁴ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 59-60.

than talking directly to working-class women. The sample issue is detailed further below:²⁵

Fig 2.2 - Content list for *Wings*, May 1894.

<i>Wings</i>. May 1894.		
Page no.	Content description	Notes
unnumbered	Front cover	Image and contents list
unnumbered	Advertisements	Mixed
p.i	Advertisements	Dress linens
p.ii	Advertisements	Cod liver oil, lime juice
p.iii	Advertisements	Home library, book titles available to order
p.iv	Advertisements	Wedding linen, epps cocaine, wind pills, bird feed
p.v	Advertisements Varieties	Titbit from New York Advocate
p.vi	Advertisements Report from Good Templar session	
p.57	'Temperance Women at Home'	Case study/interview
p.58	'Temperance Women at Home' (cont) 'Cora'	Temperance poem
p.59	'Cora' (cont)	

²⁵ It is of important note that the digitised and print versions of *Wings* differ in format. The bound version of this issue begins on p. 57 with 'Temperance Women at Home' and does not include the previous pages of advertisements or 'Varieties'.

	'Temperance teaching in mothers' meetings'	Women were urged to attend and to reform without 'lecturing or scolding'
p.60	Temperance teaching in mothers' meetings' (cont) 'You and I' Bible reading	Temperance poem
p.61	Bible reading (cont) Reports	Account of WTAU meetings around country
p.62	Advertisement	Programme of public meetings
p.63	WTAU editorial	Letter to and from Lord Rosebery. WTAU members had requested a delegation with him but he was unable to meet them. Additional notice advising that women speakers are going into local teaching schools to talk about abstinence
p.64	Editorial	
p.65	Editorial (cont)	
p.66	Editorial (cont) 'One certain solution of the "greatest problem"'	Article concerning the removal of licensed premises where women may be able to easily purchase alcohol

	'A day's experience at a licensing court'	
p.67	'A day's experience at a licensing court' (cont) 'Medical orders'	Temperance fiction
p.68	'Medical orders' (cont) 'Workhouse Bands of Hope' 'For the children'	Article encouraging the formation of Bands of Hope within Workhouses News from Holland
p.69	'For the children' (cont) + 'Women's work for temperance'	Brief reports of interest and news from regional branches
p.70	'Women's work for temperance' (cont)	
unnumbered	Advertisements	Temperance fiction, temperance hotels
unnumbered	Advertisements	

This sample issue of the paper was predominantly focused around temperance, as would be expected, but with additional content which constructed readers as religious women and domestic managers. Bible readings appeared frequently, alongside articles concerned with managing a household. Carol Mattingly asserts that 'temperance women venerated women's connection with motherhood and the home' and material within *Wings* reinforced an expected and accepted ideology.²⁶ This veneration ensured that the journal was not only concerned with enabling its women

²⁶ Carol Mattingly, *Well-Tempered Women: Nineteenth-Century Temperance Rhetoric* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1998), p. 52.

readers to undertake temperance work and reform, but was also concerned with the gendered construction of its women readers as Patmore's ideal of the 'Angel in the House'. *Wings* readers were told how to be good, British, temperance women, how to oversee their family and household, and yet, the journal also sought to entertain and attract a wider readership. In short, *Wings* was a hybrid publication, a temperance title and a lifestyle journal.

Market analysis

Wings should be considered as part of the wider periodical press. Brake argues that 'without identification with a specific constituency shared by journals and their readers, titles could not survive'.²⁷ This section will outline this constituency and where *Wings* was situated within the marketplace. It undertakes a contextual comparison of the female periodical press, arguing that *Wings* utilised features and content from a variety of genres, in an attempt to ensure that it alone could meet the varied needs of its readers. Building on an analysis of *Wings*, it examines *Woman's Signal*, *Hearth and Home*, *Myra's Journal of Dress and Fashion*, *The Shield*, *Shafts*, *Girl's Own Paper*, and *The Lady's Realm*. The magazines chosen are representative of particular genres and concerned with key aspects of the female experience including domesticity, fashion and appearance, children, and social and cultural reform. *Wings* did not operate or exist in a vacuum and its place in the market must be understood.

Contextual comparison

After the split in 1893, the National British Women's Temperance Association established the *Woman's Signal* as their official journal. The *Signal* was not an entirely new magazine and can be traced in various guises, beginning as the *Women's Penny*

²⁷ Laurel Brake, "'Time's Turbulence': Mapping Journalism Networks", *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 44.2 (2011), 115–27 (p. 121).

Paper (1888-90), a weekly magazine costing one penny, and edited by Helena B. Temple. It was then renamed the *Women's Herald* (1891-93), continuing to be published weekly at the same cost and with the same editor. However, in 1893, the *Herald* merged with the *British Women's Temperance Journal* (1883-92) and was renamed and re-launched as the *Woman's Signal* (1894-99) in January 1894, the official organ of the National British Women's Temperance Association. The *Signal* continued weekly, at a cost of one penny but was now under the editorial control of Lady Henry Somerset and Annie Holdsworth. Emma Liggins asserts that the *Woman's Signal* 'gave broad coverage to temperance and suffrage concerns while also publicising, analysing, and reinforcing women's new public and political roles'.²⁸ The *Signal* was openly political and reinforced Somerset's desire for the ladies of the BWTA (now NBWTA) to 'do everything'.

²⁸ Emma Liggins, 'Not an Ordinary "Ladies' Paper": Work, Motherhood, and Temperance Rhetoric in the Woman's Signal, 1894-1899', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47.4 (2014), 613-30 (p. 615).

Fig 2.3 - First page of the *Woman's Signal*, 10 May 1894.

THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL, MAY 10, 1894.

SPECIAL COUNCIL NUMBER.

THE WOMAN'S SIGNAL

EDITED BY
LADY HENRY SOMERSET AND ANNIE E. HOLDSWORTH.

VOL. I., No. 19. MAY 10, 1894. [Registered as a Newspaper.] EIGHT-PAGE SUPPLEMENT. ONE PENNY.

BRIGHTEN YOUR LEISURE HOURS by reading JARROLD'S PENNY POPULAR STORIES.

No. **OVER 5,000,000 ALREADY SOLD.**

1. Boy Your Own Stories	...	Dr. J. W. Eirton
2. Mother's Last Words	...	Mrs. Sewell
3. Our Father's Care	...	Mrs. Sewell
4. The Dismalizing Cobbler	...	Ellen Moorhouse
5. That's Him to a "T"	...	Rev. H. Hall
6. Face as a Ball	...	Rev. F. Langbridge
7. Paddle Your Own Canoe	...	Daniel Darlington
8. Holroyd's Boy	...	Harriet Boulwood
9. The Hospital Hero	...	Harriet Boulwood
10. Just Sayed	...	Nellie Helle
11. Little King David	...	Harriet Boulwood
12. Kobbler's Ambition	...	F. J. Wilder
13. Matt Stubbs' Dream	...	MARK GUY FRANKS
14. Canary Dick	...	Rev. F. Langbridge
15. Strike while the Iron's Hot	...	Helena Brooks
16. Aunt Lydia's Hammer	...	Nellie Helle
17. Jack's Watchword	...	Mrs. J. P. Lee
18. Scam's Waiting	...	L. E. Meade
19. One Too Many	...	Rev. E. N. Hoare, M.A.
20. Grimes	...	Mrs. Emma Marshall
21. The Minister	...	Helena Brooks
22. Jasper Kenton's Romance	...	JAMES T. ALLEN
23. Haggard's Haggard Stewards	...	Dr. Gordon Stables, C.M., R.N.
24. The Thin Red of the Wool	...	Frances Armstrong
25. Robert Gordon's Secret	...	Robert Overton
26. Rammy Sharp	...	Eva K. Fahlbourn
27. A Man in a Millin	...	Rev. Josiah Jones
28. An Old Man's Story	...	Rev. C. Courtenay
29. Kate's Uncle	...	Phyllis Peyton
30. Granny's Poor Girl	...	M. B. Dyde
31. The Yunnan's Mice	...	John Newton
32. Meredith Square	...	Helena Brooks
33. Leamin, the Soldier's Wife	...	A. M. Vachell
34. How Archie Found His Mother	...	Rev. E. N. Hoare, M.A.
35. Daphne's Romance	...	Helena Brooks
36. Backwater's Sun	...	Helena Brooks
37. My Master's Son	...	Helena Brooks
38. The Scire's Daughter (May 1894)	...	Rev. E. N. Hoare, M.A.
39. Child Neighbours (May 1894)	...	Helena Brooks
40. The Merchant's Clerk (June 1894)	...	Helena Brooks

OPENS IN PREPARATION.
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woman be really of bad character, she has the Common Law right of every person to walk peaceably in the street, so long as she does not annoy anyone; but if she is disorderly or solicits passers-by, she may be apprehended under the ordinary law. It is a violation of every principle of liberty that a person should be liable to arrest who has committed no legal offence, and who at the time of arrest is not breaking any law. But in addition, this law places every poor woman at the mercy of the police, and it was stated in the debate, on the authority of a doctor of thirty years' standing in Oxford, where a similar law exists, that many poor girls who have to work all day are afraid to go out at night for a walk for fear of being arrested by the University police. Against this tyranny, Mr. Webb, Mr. W. McLaren, Mr. Stansfeld, Mr. Labouchere, Mr. H. J. Wilson, and Mr. A. C. Morton protested; but, largely owing to the support which Sir William Harcourt gave to the obnoxious clause, it was carried by 242 votes to 157. The House of Commons cared nothing for the rights of the women of Cambridge, and without any hesitation sacrificed them for the sake of the 3,000 undergraduates there, who are supposed not to be able to take care of themselves. Why the students of Oxford and Cambridge require to be protected more than the students of London, Dublin, Edinburgh, or Glasgow does not appear; nor was any answer given to the assertion that the ordinary law of the land, if properly enforced, is quite sufficient to meet the necessities of the case. The House of Commons cared for none of these things; it was willing to trample on the rights of women for the benefit of men. It also ignored the views of women upon the subject, for the Council of the Women's Liberal Federation, numbering 900 women, only two days previously had passed the following resolution on the subject:

That this Council is of opinion that the special jurisdiction as exercised over women at the University towns—Oxford and Cambridge—is both degrading and unjust, and calls for its



MISS F. E. WILLARD.

Although content did focus on temperance, the paper was more generally concerned with the role and place of women in the wider world, publicising issues such as the availability of police matrons and the conditions in which arrested women were kept. The magazine seems to have taken this investigative task extremely seriously. Somerset attempted to spend a night in Marlborough Street police cells to ascertain the nature of the conditions in which arrested women were kept, but was refused 'on

the ground that the sights and sounds there were unfit for her to see and hear.’²⁹ It is of note that investigative journalism, a key part of New Journalism, was now a commonplace activity and that this incident is reminiscent of celebrated earlier investigations such as James Greenwood’s ‘A Night in the Workhouse’ (1866) or Nellie Bly’s ‘Ten Days in a Mad-House’ (1887). It may be that in attempting to undertake work of this sort, Somerset, and implicitly the *Signal*, were trying to engage more heavily with some of the more eye-catching aspects of New Journalism.

The *Signal* was also concerned with the construction of its readers. Although also used in earlier incarnations, the *Women’s Penny Paper* and *Women’s Herald*, the addressee of the periodical, the ‘woman’ of the *Woman’s Signal*, is noteworthy. ‘Woman’ suggests a clear readership identification as Marie-Louise Bowallius claims that ‘woman’ was a word with which the middle-class readership identified more easily whilst ‘lady’ was more appealing to women from the upper class.³⁰ Further, Tusan suggests that ‘there is evidence that by the late 1880s, having the word “woman” or “women” in a periodical title indicated a relatively progressive political stance.’³¹ Crucially, for the purposes of this study, the *Signal* moved beyond the relatively limited scope of *Wings*, situating overtly political issues alongside the domestic.

A breakdown of issue nineteen, published May 1894 is listed below. The contrasting concerns of the journal are illustrated through the diversity of content. The magazine included temperance reform alongside wider women’s interests, whilst political and domestic concerns were also juxtaposed:

Fig 2.4 - Content list for *Woman’s Signal*, 10 May 1894.

<i>Woman’s Signal</i> . 10 May 1894.		
Page no.	Content description	Notes

²⁹ *Woman’s Signal*, 10 May 1894, p. 307-8.

³⁰ Marie-Louise Bowallius, ‘Advertising and the Use of Colour in *Woman’s Home Companion*, 1923-33’, in *Design and the Modern Magazine*, ed. by Jeremy Aynsley and Kate Forde (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007), pp. 18–36 (p. 19).

³¹ Tusan, p. 68.

p.305	Front page 'The Cambridge Corporation Bill'	Article concerned with prostitution/arrest
p.306	'The Cambridge Corporation Bill' (cont) 'A cloistered bohemia'	Fiction by Annie Holdsworth
p.307	'A cloistered bohemia' (cont) Report from Women's Liberal Federation	Concerned with police arrests and availability of police matrons
p.308	Report from Women's Liberal Federation (cont)	
p.309	Report from BWTA annual meeting	
p.310	Report from BWTA annual meeting (cont)	
p.311	Report from BWTA annual meeting (cont)	
p.312	Preview 'The ethical basis for women's rights'	Look ahead to next week's issue Interview with Rev. Prof. Shuttleworth
p.313	'The ethical basis for women's rights' (cont) The Sailor's Star	Article concerned with wellbeing of wives/widows of seamen
p.314	'Leaves from my life'	Autobiography of Frances Willard
p.315	Editorial	

	Letter from United Kingdom Alliance to Mrs H. Somerset thanking her for work undertaken	UKA was a male only national temperance organisation
p.316	Reports of local lunches / events Advertisements	
p.317	'Concerning women' Advertisements	Article concerning undertakings of notable and local women Yosa typewriter - demonstrating the respectability of writing as a profession
p.318	'Dr Francis Campbell' 'How to keep horses from bolting' 'Since our last' News from branches of the BWTA	Biography Round up of happenings since the previous issue
p.319	Advertisements	
p.320	Advertisements	
p.321	Supplement	Concerning inebriate homes for women
p.322	Supplement (cont) Balance sheet for inebriate home 'Mother Stewart'	Biography
p.323	Supplement (cont) 'Industrial farm home for inebriate women' Results of a recent fundraising pledge	

		Contributors to fundraising drive named along with contribution made
p.324	Supplement (cont) Results of a recent fundraising pledge (cont)	
p.325	Supplement (cont) Results of a recent fundraising pledge (cont)	
p.326	Supplement (cont) Results of a recent fundraising pledge (cont)	
p.327	Subscriptions and donations	

Ros Black discusses the creation of the paper, stating that:

Isabel [Somerset] spent considerable time and effort launching a new paper, the *Woman's Signal*. But the *Signal* was not widely popular and within six months Isabel had to resort to producing a monthly *Women's Signal Budget* (1894-1895), a cheaper, more digestible periodical. The whole enterprise cost her over £2,500, a considerable sum she could ill afford.³²

By 1895, the *Signal* was failing due to decreasing reader numbers and commercial difficulties and was acquired by Florence Fenwick Miller. During this time, Fenwick

³² Ros Black, *A Talent for Humanity: The Life and Work of Lady Henry Somerset* (Chippenham: Anthony Rowe Publishing, 2010), p. 65.

Miller tried to expand the readership of the magazine, as 'this type of single-issue reporting [temperance] did not fit in well with the circulation conscious era of New Journalism'.³³ Despite Tusan's assertion, it is questionable whether the *Signal* actually had this single-issue focus. From the outset the magazine did include material from the wider women's movement rather than only content related to temperance. Nonetheless, Fenwick Miller began to include a wider range of material, billing the title as a 'progressive paper for women'.³⁴ She tried to make the *Signal* a success through increased advertising and rewarding readers who recruited new subscribers.³⁵ However, she increasingly tied the magazine to the controversial women's movement. In her first issue as editor, as she explicitly set out her plans to cover domestic issues but also stated that she would go further:

It is our plan to pass through where there is a breach in old barriers, and to till also that corner of the field of life which used to be shut off from one half of humanity, but which now has become an accepted and recognised proper ground for women as well as men to occupy - namely, public affairs - politics, organised philanthropy, and efforts for reforms in morals, manners, and social arrangements.³⁶

There are clear distinctions between *Wings* and the *Signal*. Under the editorship of Fenwick Miller the *Signal* clearly promoted women's choice and emancipation, whereas, through largely focusing on temperance alone, *Wings* retained the appearance of conservatism.

One of the conditions of the editorship of Fenwick Miller was that she continue to address the issue of temperance in the *Signal*, although this was alongside other issues.³⁷ As the title ultimately ceased in 1899, she used the final issue to state:

³³ Tusan, p. 125.

³⁴ *Woman's Signal*, October 6 1898, p. 216 (qtd in VanArsdel 'Florence Fenwick Miller' p. 115).

³⁵ Barbara Onslow, 'Florence Fenwick Miller', ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), pp. 413–14.

³⁶ *Woman's Signal*, October 3 1895, p. 216.

³⁷ Fraser, Green, and Johnston, p. 165.

I undertook to allow a large slice of the paper to be made use of monthly, entirely at my expense, to print and publish the official notices and other matters of interest to the British Women's Temperance Association: alas! Quite uninteresting to everybody else.³⁸

In spite of this, it is unclear whether Fenwick Miller believed that temperance itself was not of interest to women readers, or whether it was this mixed usage and aims of the title which caused its demise. As *Wings* continued for so long after this period, it seems that reform periodicals were most successful as the mouthpiece of an association, dealing with single issues. This would construct a loyal and captive readership, but of course, the journal would only be successful as long as the issue in question remained relevant. Further, Cynthia White asserts that 'sympathising with the women's movement was sufficient to drive otherwise orthodox magazines out of print.'³⁹ Perhaps it was this open affiliation with the movement that caused the demise of the *Signal*, whereas *Wings* concerned itself, at least on the surface, with temperance alone.

White asserts that the 'leading periodicals for women were careful to avoid the whole subject of women's rights'.⁴⁰ This may be the case. Many of the titles analysed in this chapter did not overtly engage with the Woman Question. The titles that did, did not have large circulation figures. One of the earliest mass-market periodicals for women, the *English Woman's Journal* (1858-1864) focused 'on feminism, with especial stress on the education and employment of middle-class women, but including such topics as marriage laws, women's emigration, lives of women painters in the Italian renaissance and, finally, women's suffrage'.⁴¹ Janice Schroeder asserts that it was the 'first monthly magazine to be published by an organized feminist

³⁸ *Woman's Signal*, 23 March 1899, p. 184.

³⁹ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 49.

⁴⁰ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 47.

⁴¹ David T.J. Doughan, 'Periodicals by, for and about Women in Britain', *Women's Studies International Forum*, 10.3 (1987), 261-73 (p. 266).

network in England'.⁴² Yet, it was not commercially successful and it 'never achieved a circulation much above one thousand subscribers'.⁴³ White expands on this and discusses how 'the campaign to extend women's rights consistently failed to win prominence in the women's press. Largely, women's magazines continued to reinforce the status quo, and adhered to a restricted formula'.⁴⁴ This restricted formula considered women as domestic creatures and reinforced messages of idealised domesticity. This is, in the main, the model adopted by the WTAU, and on display in *Wings*. Temperance was considered alongside domestic issues. The Union explicitly shied away from including content on the women's movement.

Flint asserts that 'feminist periodicals constructed their model of the woman reader in a different mould from those publications which were dedicated, overtly or implicitly, to maintaining the predominance of the domestic ethos'.⁴⁵ One explicitly feminist title, *Shafts* (1892-1899), was edited by Margaret Sibthorpe, and stated its intention as follows:

Shafts is not a newspaper, not a dealer in gossip of any kind, has no fashion plates, gives out no patterns of dressmaking etc., makes no pretence of being "an entertaining monthly", or of filling its columns with smart whisperings, questionable jokes or meaningless tales. Everything contained in *Shafts* is with a purpose; to help women in their onward-going, in their uprising.⁴⁶

Through this quotation *Shafts* set itself apart from journals which may have been considered light-hearted, frivolous or engaging in New Journalism practices. Rather, it would only be concerned with serious issues and helping women to achieve emancipation.

⁴² Janice Schroeder, 'On the English Woman's Journal, 1858-64', ed. by Dino Franco Felluga, *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History* <http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=janice-schroeder-on-the-english-womans-journal-1858-62> [accessed 11 August 2017].

⁴³ Schroeder.

⁴⁴ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 49.

⁴⁵ Flint, p. 150.

⁴⁶ *Shafts*, April 1895, p. 1.

Whilst *Shafts* included features on radical issues such as suffrage, prostitution, and social purity, it also attempted to attract less radical readers through the 'promotion of a woman centred agenda', for example, including reviews of books which were of interest to women readers in general.⁴⁷ Matthew Beaumont discusses *Shafts* at length, asserting that 'the paper was a feminist attempt to redefine the prevailing processes of cultural transmission, the dissemination of so-called progressive ideas, and of alternative ethical values, at the fin de siècle.'⁴⁸ The paper was attempting to be different, to stand out amongst a crowded marketplace and adopted a distinctly feminist angle to do so. Doughan considers the title to have been ahead of its time, as for example, it avoided the use of masculine pronouns when making statements.⁴⁹

Due to the overt, feminist nature of *Shafts*, and the respectable, temperate nature of *Wings*, links between the two may be unexpected. However, as outlined in chapter one, connections across reform movements were not uncommon. In October 1897, a notice appeared informing *Shafts*' readers of the work of the Women's Total Abstinence Union.⁵⁰ An account of a meeting of the Nurses National Total Abstinence League, federated to the WTAU, was included, along with notice of a sale of work by the Clapton branch of the Union. The work undertaken was clearly temperate in nature, but the inclusion of this notice in an openly feminist title is curious. It is unknown how the article came to be included in *Shafts*, but as the notice of work was extremely detailed, it seems plausible that an individual involved in the work provided the account for inclusion. The executive committee of the Union was concerned with respectability, but it appears that this was not replicated across all of the membership. Some were happy to be included in an apparently 'unrespectable' title.

⁴⁷ Tusan, p. 130.

⁴⁸ Matthew Beaumont, 'Influential Force: *Shafts* and the Diffusion of Knowledge at the Fin de Siècle', 19: *Interdisciplinary Studies in the Long Nineteenth Century*, 2006, 1–19 (p. 4).

⁴⁹ David Doughan, 'Shafts 1892-1899', ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), pp. 568–69.

⁵⁰ *Shafts*, October 1897, p. 293.

Shafts ultimately ceased in 1899 as 'in rejecting 'the "New Journalism" formula of information, gossip and entertainment' so firmly, it could not compete with other publications.'⁵¹ It could be, however, more far-reaching than this as Tusan states, 'even for papers such as *Shafts*, targeted at a broader class of reader, ideas about female respectability held strong currency.'⁵² If this openly feminist title was forced to cease due to concerns over respectability, then other, more conservative titles, would be equally, if not more, concerned with this issue. In an already competitive market, papers which solely addressed the issue of women's rights and suffrage could face increased difficulties in attracting readers. However, perhaps to counter this, some titles had a distinctly feminist position, but were based around a specific cause or campaign.

The Shield (1870-1900) was one such title, the official organ of the British Committee of the Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice, working against the Contagious Diseases Acts and state regulated prostitution. In contrast to the religious connotations of *Wings*, the title of *The Shield* is evidently militaristic. The journal is positioned here as a defence, most likely of the women affected by the Contagious Diseases Acts. Cheryl Law argues that the magazine 'was significant in terms of the fight to establish an equal moral standard, publicly discussing matters which were deemed unfit for 'ladies''.⁵³ However, the journal did not receive widespread contemporary support. Contagious Diseases reform was a contentious and disreputable issue and Tusan's conclusion that concerns over respectability remained a barrier for many women is reinforced here.⁵⁴ In comparison, temperance was considered an area fit for women to work upon and within. Yet, in spite of overt differences there were links between social purity literature and *Wings*, namely in the guise of Fanny Forsaith. Forsaith was a founding member of the WTAU, editor of

⁵¹ Beaumont, p. 6.

⁵² Tusan, p. 131.

⁵³ Cheryl Law, '*Shield*, 1870-1933', ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 573.

⁵⁴ Tusan, p. 131.

Wings, as well as the Secretary for the British Committee of the Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice. That such a high-profile figure within the WTAU was working across both organisations is noteworthy and will be explored in further detail in chapter five. It is of note though, that although the focus of each journal differed, both *Wings* and the *Shield* had a distinct female reforming agenda, albeit concerned with very different topics.

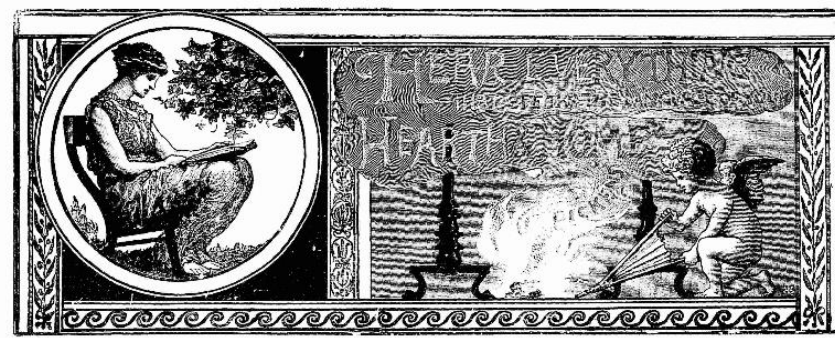
Hearth and Home (1891-1914) was a key title, a 'new kind of general magazine' utilising many features of New Journalism.⁵⁵ It was priced at three pence per weekly issue, and was sited between the general illustrated magazines and the cheap domestic titles. This format was extremely successful and continued to be utilised throughout the twentieth century.⁵⁶ Content was designed to appeal to every woman to promote and encourage a wide readership. The choice of title, *Hearth and Home*, had been 'selected as expressing the most beautifying of a woman's interests. Round these words her love and her sympathies, her concerns and her hopes are centred.'⁵⁷

⁵⁵ Beetham and Boardman, p. 44.

⁵⁶ For a discussion on women's magazines throughout the twentieth century see Cynthia L White, *The Women's Periodical Press in Britain 1946-1976*, Royal Commission on the Press (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1977).

⁵⁷ *Hearth and Home*, 21 May 1891, p. 1.

Fig 2.5 - First page of *Hearth and Home*, 10 May 1894.



No. 156.—VOL. 6.

THURSDAY, MAY 10, 1894.

PRICE THREEPENCE.

CONSOLATIONS.

THE eternal woman question, which is perpetually popping up in one of its various forms, is with us once more. This time it is men who bewail and women who attack, the subject of controversy being whether the presence of women in smoking-carriages is, or is not, desirable. For our part we think that the presence of any non-smoker in a carriage provided for smokers is undesirable. Non-smokers merely take up room and get choked with smoke. What object is there in sitting boxed up in a small space in a foul atmosphere? Even a man does not care to be in a smoking-carriage unless he is smoking. We have no sympathy whatever with the women who declare that they ought to be allowed to cram smoking-carriages, and that it is preposterous to say a word against it. Neither men nor women who do not smoke should fill seats in smoking-carriages. We might just as well throw the refreshment rooms at stations without having any intention of eating, or go and sit for hours in a bath-room without meaning to take a bath. The position protesting women take up is absolutely untenable. If a place is provided for a particular purpose it ought to be kept for that. Non-smokers have no business whatever in smoking-carriages. The women who persist in getting into smoking-carriages must certainly be remarkably fond of the company of men, but there is a large and increasing class of women who love to assemble themselves together and to shut the door upon the unspeakable male. They revel in their own society, in freedom from observation, in the proud consciousness that no husband, no father, however tender, no brother, however genial, has the right to set foot in their home for the time being. The ladies' club is becoming more and more of an institution. Half the women in London seem to have their clubs. You continually hear one girl say to another, "Come round and see me at the club some afternoon," or, "I'm off now to the club to get my letters." There are many girls who drag into their club every day with the regularity of the confirmed old buffer, and who, far from rushing after men, are only too glad to get a few minutes' peace from them. Nor we must not lose sight of the fact that a new race is springing up among us—the race of female bachelors. Female bachelors abound, and they have a very good time indeed. They live in

rooms, often up on the third floor, but comfortable rooms for all that. They work hard during the day, and they frequently go to their clubs at night. They walk about entirely alone at any time of day and night; they frequent the theatres, often rushing into the pit, or bounding goal-like to the gallery. They have their carpet slippers, and sometimes, modestly be it whispered, their tasselled or otherwise decorated smoking caps. Their minds, in fact, are attired "in all points like a man." As men say, "Let's get away from the women!" they say "Let's get away from the men!" and men have to be very nice to them, indeed to climb into their good graces. For these young and old bachelors are mighty independent. Watch them as they pass by, enthroned upon the knife-board of a three-horse bus, with a magnificent red canopy over their heads. Note their easy dignity, their restrained majesty. They are unbending, perchance, to the rosy-faced driver, but that is because they wish to hear his experiences, to turn his life into copy, or they often drive that way and are partial to the box seat on their everyday coach. The driver obviously admires what he would call their pique, and he drives with an added aplomb, a more conspicuous and daring originality, when they are present, sowing the wind with chaff of the most enlightened and cosmopolitan character. In the afternoon, when their work for the day is over, they adumbrate again on the top of a bus—to their clubs, glance over their letters, skim the papers, and discuss the topics of the day over a cup of excellent tea. They stroll down Piccadilly homewards, possibly passing through the Park, where they nod cheerfully to acquaintances or pause to talk with friends. In the evening, unless they dine at their club, which very often happens, they go to the play, or to a party—they love big Bohemian crushes or settle themselves in a tea-gown, that takes the place of a man's smoking-coat, with their toes on the fender, and a cup of coffee by their side, to read the last new book or some favourite old friend. It is not an unpleasant picture, is it? These lady bachelors have very good times. They are fit the most part entirely free from nervous fears, and as well able to take care of themselves as an old soldier or an lion boy. Long ago they have learned the noble art of holding their own. They choose to be free, and they don't mind occasionally being free and easy, but always within limits; for to the honour of women be it said that when they have to shift for themselves, and to dispense with chaplains, they do not think it necessary to run wild as so many men do. They live life seriously and cheerfully, and they enjoy things to the full. They enjoy their bus rides, their chat with the driver, their visit to the club. They love to feel that they are not dependent. And

why should we blame them? If women have to be independent, and many are obliged to be, let them be independent properly and happily. Let their independence have its solace, as their dependence has its joys. The club is a great solace to many women, and men have no business to raise a voice against it. We are no advocate for young girls' clubs. In our opinion they often do more harm than good in ways that we have neither space nor inclination to mention here. Girls who have charming homes and kind parents need not pine for bachelorhood. There is a loneliness in clipped wings that many a struggling woman would be glad to feel. Young and protected girls may well be thankful for protection. But many women have to do without it, and we must not carp at their consolations. On the contrary, the more legitimate considerations they can get the better. Our sympathy always goes out to workers. The rest of the world should always be surrounded with as much comfort and beauty as possible. Let those who rest always have a land chair to sit upon occasionally, but let there always be an armchair for the reader when possible. Female bachelors generally have to knock about, whether they will or no. It would be the height of folly to blame them for knocking about, the height of cruelty to deny them the sweet consolations of freedom, discreet independence, and, above all, their club. Bachelors—whether male or female—must be dealt with tenderly, otherwise they are apt to turn cross. And the faithful husband is like the faithful porcupine, extremely difficult to handle without pricking the fingers.

PEOPLE, PLACES, AND THINGS.

"He that attacks bachelors is a fool." SOLON.

All Society Amusements, and Accounts of Weddings, Balls, Private Festivities, Concerts, etc., must be addressed to THE CHIEF, care of "Hearth and Home," 6, Peter Lane, E.C., and must reach the office not later than first post Saturday for publication in next week's issue.

THE QUEEN left Windsor at twenty minutes past eleven o'clock yesterday morning on a visit to the metropolis. Her Majesty and suite travelled by special train to Paddington, whence they drove under an escort of the Household Cavalry to Buckingham Palace, which was reached shortly after noon. This afternoon (Thursday) Her Majesty will hold her last Drawing Room of the season.

By Royal command the East Terrace at Windsor Castle was opened to the public on Sunday afternoon for the first time since the return of the Court from the Continent. The bands of the Royal Horse and Goldstream Guards played upon the lawns opposite the palace apartments, and the promenade and garden were thronged with visitors.

The magazine appears to construct its women readers as gendered, domestic creatures, concerned only with the home and their role within it. In its first issue, the mass-market magazine addressed the issue of content specifically and promised it would provide something for everyone:

Hearth and Home promises to give practical, useful, helpful advice, noting novelties as they appear, and describing new ideas, in order to show the reality and the charm which characterise a well-ordered house, and give to it a sense of happiness and joy all its own. In

addition to the elevating, practical, and instructive side of our programme, we do not forget that it is equally the mission of a home paper to be entertaining and amusing, and in this connection we propose to devote considerable space to Art, Dramatic, Musical, and Literary gossip and criticism, not forgetting the 'Lassies and Laddies,' who will have their special corner. Fiction, either in the form of serial novels or short tales, will receive its due share of attention, and for those who love to crack puzzle nuts there will be ample fare. Fashion, it is needless to add, will be adequately dealt with in pages specially set apart.⁵⁸

This quotation suggests that the journal will focus largely on domestic issues, and provide women readers with the knowledge and information required for them to keep a happy home. It will appeal not only to them, but to their children. It will include New Journalistic content designed to appeal to a mass readership, including puzzles, competitions, fashion and serial fiction. Yet, it also promises to go beyond these domestic concerns and to include material on 'Art, Dramatic, Musical, and Literary criticism' thus encouraging women's reading and intellectual pursuits. The journal here attempted to provide its readers with a variety of content, from the traditional domestic, to the more progressive. It attempted to include something for every reader. Indeed, a similar formula can be seen in *Wings*. Although it was focused on temperance, features also included a children's column, like the one aimed at 'lassies and laddies', serialised fiction and puzzles/competitions. *Wings* also provided hints and tips for the home, surely, to use the term from *Hearth and Home*, in the hope of providing a 'well-ordered house'. In spite of the temperance focus, *Wings* clearly utilised many of the same features as other, domestic, entertaining titles. It was

⁵⁸ *Hearth and Home*, 21 May 1891, p. 1.

situated between reforming titles such as the *Woman's Signal* and *The Shield*, and domestic titles such as *Hearth and Home*.

On its launch in May 1891, the first editorial of *Hearth and Home* specifically addressed the issue of the women's movement, stating:

It seems hardly necessary to state that we do not at all aim at representing the advanced and emancipated school of womankind.

The pretensions of small and noisy cliques do not in any way express the aspirations of the well-educated, refined gentlewoman of to-day.⁵⁹

In spite of stating that it would include potentially progressive material in its intention statement, this editorial goes back on this promise somewhat and rather states that it will not concern itself with the 'noisy' elements of the women's movement. Here, *Hearth and Home* is similar to *Wings* in that it is not vocal on the issue, but rather includes the voice of the quiet majority. By largely maintaining silence on a contested issue and not overtly addressing the issue either way, these journals retained a middle ground. In order to explore content further, and enable a greater comparison, the breakdown of a typical issue can be seen below:⁶⁰

Fig 2.6 - Content list for *Hearth and Home*, 10 May 1894.

<i>Hearth and Home</i> . 10 May 1894.		
Page no.	Content description	Notes
p.881	Advertisements	Corsets, fabrics, books
p.882	Advertisements	Dressmakers
p.883	Advertisements	Furniture, clothing
p.884	Advertisements	Hats, Eton suits
p.885	Contents +	

⁵⁹ *Hearth and Home*, 21 May 1891. p. 1.

⁶⁰ Although the title was published until December 1914, online digitisation reaches only until 1900

	Subscription information Advertisements	How to obtain the magazine
p.886	Advertisements	Furniture
p.887	'Front cover' Article concerning women in smoking carriages 'People, places and things'	 Titbits/news round up
p.888	'People, places and things' (cont)	
p.889	'People, places and things' (cont)	
p.890	'People, places and things' (cont)	
p.891	'Our special costumes'	Fashion plate - illustration
p.892	'Our special costumes' (cont) Reports from balls	
p.893	Reports from balls, fete etc (cont) Fashion plate	
p.894	'Music and art' 'Twice parted'	Review of concert and play Poem utilising classical allusions
p.895	'The world of sportswomen'	Otter hunting, lawn tennis, hockey, golf
p.896	'Love's Story' 'Big feet' French fashions Competition	Short story Article urging all women, regardless of foot size to wear appropriate and well-made boots 'What is a humbug?' Prize was 6 pairs of gloves
p.897	'French fashions'	Fashion plate

		tonic for the blood, brain and nerves.'
p.906	'For lassies and laddies'	Children's column
p.907	Advertisements	
p.908	Competitions Advertisements	<i>Photography</i> (best portrait, best photo of flowers, best summer scene) <i>Writing</i> (best poem or essay on 'A London Crowd')
p.909	Advertisements	Furniture, fabric
p.910	Competitions Advertisements	'Trials and Tact'- Puzzle page. Prize given to person who solves most puzzles
p.911	Advertisements	Food, wine, beauty products
p.912	Advertisements	Methods for increasing height, furniture, food
p.i	Supplement Responses to correspondents - home advice	Some repetition from inside the magazine
p.ii	Supplement Responses to correspondents (cont) - home and garden advice	
p.iii	Supplement	

	Responses to correspondents (cont) - graphology, health and beauty, the art of the needle	
p.iv	Supplement Responses to correspondents (cont) - graphology, trials and tact, photo competition	

Concerns of home, beauty, fashion, and garden make up the majority of content. However, content is varied and some aspects are more progressive than perhaps expected. 'The world of sportswomen' described sports including otter hunting, lawn tennis, hockey and golf. This article was recurring, appearing in every other issue, and described notable women in sport, their achievements, and developments in the field more widely. The inclusion of a frequent article on sports for women in an ostensibly conservative title demonstrates a potentially enlightened perspective, concealed behind the outwardly respectable veneer. Further, the inclusion of French fashions promotes a world view, albeit related to fashion, whilst the article which encouraged women to wear well-made and practical boots suggests that women should be outside of the home, leaving the domestic realm. Finally, the photography and writing competitions would mean that women would have to leave the domestic sphere either in order to take a photo, or to observe a crowd to write about. The promise of 'a woman's paper ready to be bright and original, fearless and outspoken, broad and comprehensive in its scope' now appears to be a little more accurate.⁶¹ In including some unconventional material, *Hearth and Home* can potentially be seen as more innovative and potentially progressive than it may initially appear. In comparison, this is also true for *Wings*. Female reformers of the WTAU worked within

⁶¹ *Hearth and Home*, 21 May 1891, p. 1.

temperance, in a respectable area of social reform, but in doing so became equipped with political skills and could also then turn their attentions to other causes. Women's magazines and women's groups operated a balancing act, treading a fine line between progressivism and conservatism. These innovative and progressive elements were included within respectable, middle-class titles. Even titles which stated that they would refrain from engaging with the woman question were not solely conservative. Whilst appearing to maintain the status quo, essentially conservative titles could conceal any progressive content within. It is important to note that this may not have been a direct intent, but most likely due to the all-pervasive nature of the woman question. Yet, this concealment could potentially have aided the commercial success of a journal. Journals could not afford to limit their readership. In eschewing open inclusion of controversial material, respectable, traditional readers would not be scared away. In turn, by including it perhaps covertly, more progressive women could still access this material. The magazine would appeal to a wider selection of readers and thus maximise commercial success.

This emphasis on commerciality increased in the latter part of the nineteenth century due to the arrival and pervasiveness of New Journalistic practices, including investigative journalism, competitions, serial fiction and 'titbits'. Beetham states that in the 1880s and 1890s the 'titbit', the 'technique of the series of short, unconnected paragraphs became a feature of a range of periodicals.'⁶² All of the issues analysed had some form of 'titbit' where events, news and issues of concern were rounded up and communicated in a series of short items, often across several pages. The column 'people, places and things', from *Hearth and Home*, is a prime example of a 'titbit', however, at over three pages in length, was a rather long round up of unconnected issues and stories. *Wings* had an irregular column entitled 'varieties' which rounded up temperance news, events, and activities. However, although not labelled as a titbit

⁶² Beetham and Boardman, p. 119.

this technique was used, as disparate material was included together in subsequent columns. That such techniques, originally part of the somewhat disreputable New Journalism, were now being included in respectable, general domestic magazines demonstrates the extent to which they had pervaded the popular press. However, although the techniques themselves were not necessarily denoting a *lack* of respectability, their inclusion in magazines such as *Wings* demonstrates that these publications were potentially pushing at their own limits of respectability.

Another tool of New Journalism, competitions, was present across many of the titles analysed in this section. Beetham and Boardman discuss their inclusion arguing that ‘although competitions were primarily used to boost sales, encourage reader loyalty and gain revenue from advertising, the kinds of competitions a magazine ran indicated much about its general ethos.’⁶³ Although no competitions appear in the issue of *Wings* analysed above, an issue in November 1892 did include a competition entitled ‘Family pledge card competition’.⁶⁴ In the above analysis of *Hearth and Home*, competitions included ‘What is a humbug?’ and ‘Trials and tact’ whereas *Myra’s Journal*, considered briefly below, contained a competition for the best example of embroidery. The difference in subject of these competitions is clear and suggests that *Wings*, a temperance title, used popular tools to complement its ideological aims, alongside encouraging reader allegiance, whereas competitions in other titles were used to ensure reader interest and loyalty.

The light-hearted, New Journalistic tone in *Hearth and Home* is replicated yet embellished in *Myra’s Journal of Fashion and Dress* (1875-1912). The overwhelming concern of the title was fashion and advising women readers on their appearance, via a large selection of advertisements. However, it is also of note that although content appears almost overtly traditional at first, some features were, once more, concerned with potentially troublesome issues such as employment for women. As with *Wings*

⁶³ Beetham and Boardman, p. 195.

⁶⁴ *Wings*, November 1892, p. 128.

and *Hearth and Home*, *Myra's Journal* was a largely traditional, conservative title which also included somewhat progressive content. One article from 1894 outlined the need for young girls to have a sitting room or 'a space of their very own' and in turn, how to decorate this. Prophesising the well-known words of Virginia Woolf, the article was apparently intended to provide girls with experience and interest in homemaking but could be seen as potentially encouraging the independence of young women.⁶⁵ Guidance on potentially problematic issues such as this was clearly demanded as the correspondence feature was so successful that the size of the journal 'had to be increased to cope with the flood of correspondence'.⁶⁶ With the subtitle 'the lady's monthly magazine', the intended audience of *Myra's Journal* was middle- and upper-class women and the journal constructed its women readers as domestic, feminine creatures but also as individual, potentially powerful consumers.

Although many titles were aimed at a mixed class audience, there were titles which were more explicitly aimed at upper-class women alone. *The Lady's Realm* (1896-1915) was a monthly title, priced at six pence per issue. As the title was aimed at upper-class women, it could be assumed that it was conservative in nature, and several articles do support this assertion. An article from 1902, entitled 'The Primrose League' written by a Reginald Bennett, discusses women in politics, yet is not as progressive as perhaps may appear stating:

Why is it that the liberal woman is not such a success in the political field as the Primrose Dame? I think the reason is largely to be found in the fact that the liberal woman never ceases to deal in what one may call the minor masculine, while the Primrose Dame boldly brings into the political arena the eternal feminine. Politics are often supremely dull and a woman can do much towards relieving that dullness by

⁶⁵ *Myra's Journal*, 1 May 1894, p. 4.

⁶⁶ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 56.

bringing into play the social charms and talents characteristic of her sex.⁶⁷

Reginald Bennet here asserted that Liberal women in politics were merely minor masculine figures; presumably, they adopted masculine qualities. He considered this to be an impediment to their success. Yet, he praises women who bring, what he terms, the 'eternal feminine' to the political field, implying that as they bring something different to the sphere, they are more likely to succeed. But there is a distinction to be drawn, he does not seem to assert that they would be successful in politics per se, but rather in 'relieving the dullness' often suffered by men involved. Although Bennet appears to be praising women in politics, he is rather only praising and thus enabling those women who take an almost ornamental role in this sphere. There is a suggestion that women in politics are merely something for men to engage with whilst men undertake the serious work of the government.

The Primrose League was set up in 1833 to 'spread Conservative principles amongst the British democracy'.⁶⁸ It began as a predominantly male organisation but 'subsequently a separate Ladies' Branch and Grand Council were formed'.⁶⁹ It is of note that this article was written by a man, and therefore, may not be indicative of actual female readers' attitudes. As with other titles discussed though, often the progressive was in plain sight and changing attitudes can be traced throughout the pages of a particular journal. For instance, in the same volume, an article titled 'In the Ladies' Gallery' written by Mrs Herbert Samuel, the wife of the future Home Secretary, gives an account of a visit to Westminster, describing what she saw and heard throughout. The inclusion of this article, notably now written by a woman, could be seen as an attempt to normalise women's involvement in the political arena, even if only as spectators. *Wings* undertook a similar activity, providing accounts of Brewster

⁶⁷ *The Lady's Realm*, Nov 1902–April 1903, p. 3.

⁶⁸ Henry Drummond Wolff, 'Primrose League', *The Encyclopaedia Britannica* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 341 (p. 341) <<https://archive.org/stream/encyclopaediabri22chisrich#page/n1/mode/1up>>.

⁶⁹ Drummond Wolff, p. 341.

Sessions as a regular item and even an article entitled 'a day's experience at a licensing court'.⁷⁰ Although *The Lady's Realm* was not arguing for women's direct involvement in the political sphere, it was normalising the female presence. *Wings* though, went further as in their accounts of Brewster Sessions, they gave accounts of women speaking, providing evidence and lobbying in this political sphere. In August 1898, Mrs Nastrowsky wrote an article for *Wings* entitled 'Work at Brewster Sessions' whereby she detailed the work undertaken by the Clapton branch, gathering signatures, visiting the premises which were seeking licenses, and finally, speaking in the court when the license was discussed. She acknowledged that some would find this difficult, reassuring readers that:

The Justices and as a rule, the Barristers who are supporting the application, are courteous and respectful - no lady need be afraid to attend the court. At first we dreaded it very much, but now we do not mind it at all.⁷¹

This *Wings* article goes beyond material in *The Lady's Realm*. *Wings* was not only normalising female presence in the political sphere, but actively encouraging women reformers to speak in court and make their voices heard. This was in support of the temperance cause, but the politicisation of Union members is noteworthy. In comparison, *The Lady's Realm* remained largely conservative, with only intermittent progressive articles. As Margaret Versteeg notes, 'the process of change is always gentle as one might expect in a journal aimed at a stable middle-to-upper class audience with mainly conservative views'.⁷²

In all of the titles analysed, gender construction and feminine behaviour were key issues. Yet, these were also taught from a young age. One of the most successful children's titles, the *Girl's Own Paper*, was a weekly title costing one penny per issue.

⁷⁰ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 66.

⁷¹ *Wings*, August 1898, p. 105.

⁷² Margaret Versteeg, Sue Thomas, Joan Huddleston, 'Indexes to Fiction in *The Lady's Realm* (1896-1914)', Victorian Secrets, Victorian Fiction Research Guides, Series 3. No. 5. <http://victorianfictionresearchguides.org/the-ladys-realm-indexes-to-fiction/> [accessed online 17/07/2017].

Fig 2.7 - First page of *Girl's Own Paper*, 12 May 1894.



Launched in 1880, the editor, Charles Peters, stated that:

This magazine will aim at being to the girls a counsellor, playmate, guardian, instructor, companion and friend. It will help to train them in moral and domestic virtues, preparing them for the responsibilities of womanhood and for a heavenly home.⁷³

This editorial note clearly indicates the intention of the journal and the notion of femininity to be constructed within as virtuous, moral, and domestic. However, Fraser et al state that the 'strides of the Victorian women's movement can be seen in this

⁷³ Qtd in Hilary Skelding, 'Every Girl's Best Friend?: The *Girl's Own Paper* and Its Readers', in *Feminist Readings of Victorian Popular Texts: Divergent Femininities*, ed. by Emma Liggins and Daniel Duffy (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001), pp. 35–52 (p. 38).

definition of girlhood constructed in the pages of this type of magazine' and that it was aimed at young women whose 'range of opportunities had widened considerably'.⁷⁴ Once again, as seen with the other titles in this section, the contrast between conservative and progressive demonstrates that the journal was, in fact, undertaking a balancing act. Hilary Skelding asserts that the journal simultaneously included articles with a domestic focus alongside content of a more radical nature. She states that competing and contradictory notions of femininity were constructed within the journal and concludes that the title was in fact a site where the 'uncertainty surrounding the question of the woman's place' was played out at the end of the nineteenth century.⁷⁵ Content from within the *Girl's Own Paper* [hereafter referred to as *GOP*] reinforces this, as article subjects ranged from domestic instruction to a wider consideration of women's education and employment, which were still potentially controversial issues. The content for a single issue is detailed below:

Fig 2.8 - Content list for *Girl's Own Paper*, 12 May 1894.

<i>Girl's Own Paper</i> . 12 May 1894.		
Page no.	Content description	Notes
p.497	Masthead 'Our Little Genius'	Serialised fiction
p.498	'Our Little Genius' (cont)	
Unnumbered	'Spring' & 'Summer'	Nature illustrations
p.499	'Logic for girls'	By F. Ryland - Teaching issues of hypotheses, observation, fallacies etc to readers
p.500	'Logic for girls' (cont) 'Tables turned'	Poem

⁷⁴ Beetham and Boardman, p. 71.

⁷⁵ Skelding, p. 37.

p.501	'On various book-markers'	Article concerned with different types of bookmarks
p.502	'On various book-markers' (cont)	
p.503	'On various book-markers' (cont) 'How our colour plates are produced'	Article discussing production of plates, but also extolling virtues of female employment and that they can work without becoming 'unwomanly'
p.504	'How our colour plates are produced' (cont) 'Marching evermore'	Poem
p.505	'A June rose'	Illustration
p.506	'Like a worm I' the bud'	Serialised fiction - temperate focus/girl becomes teacher in the workhouse- normalising employment albeit in certain, respectable professions
p.507	'Like a worm I' the bud' (cont)	
p.508	'French and Swiss rounds'	Sheet music
p.509	'French and Swiss rounds' (cont)	
p.510	'Varieties' 'The wards of St Margaret's'	Titbits Serialised fiction

p.511	'The wards of St Margaret's' (cont)	
p.512	'Answers to correspondents'	Q&A with readers on topics including art, education and misc

Within the pages of this single issue were features on employment for young girls, music, and logical thinking, alongside serial fiction, nature illustrations, and practical activities such as bookmark making. The journal maintained a complex balance of traditionalism and respectability, as well as considering and engaging with the obvious economic and cultural advances for young women and girls. This contrasting content, even within a single issue, neatly demonstrates the intricacies surrounding gender construction and identity at the fin de siècle. Girls were told how to grow up into young women, whilst the journal attempted to retain its commercial success. This balance was clearly loved by readers. Sally Mitchell asserts that 'in an 1888 poll of 1,000 girls aged between 11 and 19, almost a third listed *GOP* as their favourite reading'.⁷⁶

Even when including solely domestic issues, the *Girl's Own Paper* could not be sure that they would not offend conservative values. In November 1904, the WTAU executive committee discussed *GOP* as Miss Copland advised the committee that in the last two editions of the paper, cooking recipes had called for the use of brandy or wine. The Union committee were extremely unhappy with this and resolved to send a letter to the editor of *GOP*, calling her attention to this issue and 'to the harm which may be caused by their insertion'.⁷⁷ Even when considering traditional feminine

⁷⁶ Sally Mitchell, *The New Girl: Girls' Culture in England, 1880-1915* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1995), p. 29.

⁷⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1904.

activities such as cooking, the WTAU believed that gendered construction had to be of a firmly temperate nature.

As a hybrid journal, both a temperance title and also a lifestyle magazine, *Wings* occupied a curious place in the late-nineteenth century periodical marketplace. Yet, although it sought to meet the multiple needs of its readers, by being everything for every Union woman, it is questionable whether it was successful. Indeed, the very question of success is problematic and can be measured in several ways. As a reforming title, the Union would have seen the inclusion of higher levels of temperance material, increased pledges, and increased membership of the group as a marker of success. But, as stated, the periodical market was extremely competitive. High circulation and financial viability was a very distinct and clear marker of success. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter considers the commercial success of the journal, examining the finances of the journal, its circulation and distribution.

***Wings* - Financial**

1894-1898

In 1894-5, the cost of producing *Wings* was listed in the financial reports as £18 14s 5d.⁷⁸ The following year, 1895-6, the cost was £16 6s 18d, a reduction from the previous year.⁷⁹ However, further expenses were associated with the journal. In 1896, the WTAU Publishing Co. Ltd was disestablished and the journal became the property and responsibility of the WTAU directly. From this point on the group had the benefits associated with the journal, but also the risks and financial liabilities. It cost the group £83 9s 10d in legal expenses to transfer *Wings* to the group, almost the same as the amount raised in federation fees for the entire year.⁸⁰ Subsequently, for one year, 1897-8, the publication department was given its own section in the annual financial

⁷⁸ *Second Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1894-5, p. 75.

⁷⁹ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, p. 85

⁸⁰ *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1896-7, p. 92.

report of the Union. The costs associated with *Wings* were printed for members to see. However, the detail was only included for one year, and is detailed below.

Fig 2.9 - Income and expenditure for WTAU publishing department, 1897-8.⁸¹

Income	£	s	d	Expenditure	£	s	d
Advertisements	53	6	5	Printing official organ <i>Wings</i>	289	11	4
Sale of official organ, <i>Wings</i>	204	17	6	Editorship, reporting and editor's postage	84	18	2
Various leaflets	20	2	7.5	Blocks and office postage	27	7	6
Reports	7	6	3.5	Pledge books and covers for <i>Wings</i>	5	16	6
Postage	19	6	0	Badges and ribbon	23	7	5
Badges and ribbon	32	12	6	Printing leaflets and junior members' cards	35	2	3
Receipt books, hymn sheets, 'Helps in Sickness'	13	9	6.5	Cabinet photographs	1	4	0
Covers for <i>Wings</i> and loan of blocks	3	18	6	Wrappers, carriage of parcels, messengers	4	17	3
Pledge cards and junior membership cards	2	13	4.5				
Pledge books	3	11	8				
Members cards	7	17	7				

⁸¹ *Fifth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1897-8, p. 100-101.

<i>Women's Work for Temperance in the Victorian Era</i>	7	6	4.5				
"White Violets"	2	11	9				
Photographs	0	15	0				
Donation from the editor	0	5	0				
Total income to publication department	380	10	1	Total cost to publication department	472	4	5

Using the income from sales of the journal, it is possible to ascertain that the journal had a circulation of approximately 4,000 copies per month.⁸² Yet Brenda Ayres suggests that *Wings* and its successor *White Ribbon* had 'a particularly wide circulation'.⁸³ Of course, this is a relative term, but for *Wings*, appears incorrect. However, it is important to note that this figure is not indicative of reader numbers. It does not account for members who read the journal via their branch, or for second-hand reading. However, with these caveats, a figure of 4,000 circulation can still provide some useful insight. White considers the complex question of circulation at length, asserting that although the 'most successful periodicals claimed "large circulations", the description is relative and the figures quoted are likely to have been considerably inflated'.⁸⁴ As early as 1857, the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* boasted a circulation of 50,000, whilst by the end of the century, magazines such as *Forget-Me-Not* and *Home Chat* claimed circulations of 141,000 and 186,000

⁸² *Wings* was 1d per month. Approx – £204 x 240d = 48,960d pa. Divide 12 months = 4080d per month.

⁸³ Brenda Ayres, 'Temperance Magazines', ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 618.

⁸⁴ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 68.

respectively.⁸⁵ Even if these figures are inflated, it still demonstrates that by comparison, *Wings* was not a commercially successful title. It did not attract large circulation figures.

Some of the income and costs are not directly related to *Wings* and indeed for some items, it is impossible to know precisely what the income or cost refers to. It is clear that the two largest sources of income for the publication department were gained from advertisements and the sale of *Wings*. These totalled £258 22s 11d. Yet, the cost of printing *Wings* alone was £289 11s 4d, around £30 more. With other income and expenditure also taken into account, it is clear that at this point, *Wings* was not financially profitable to the Union.

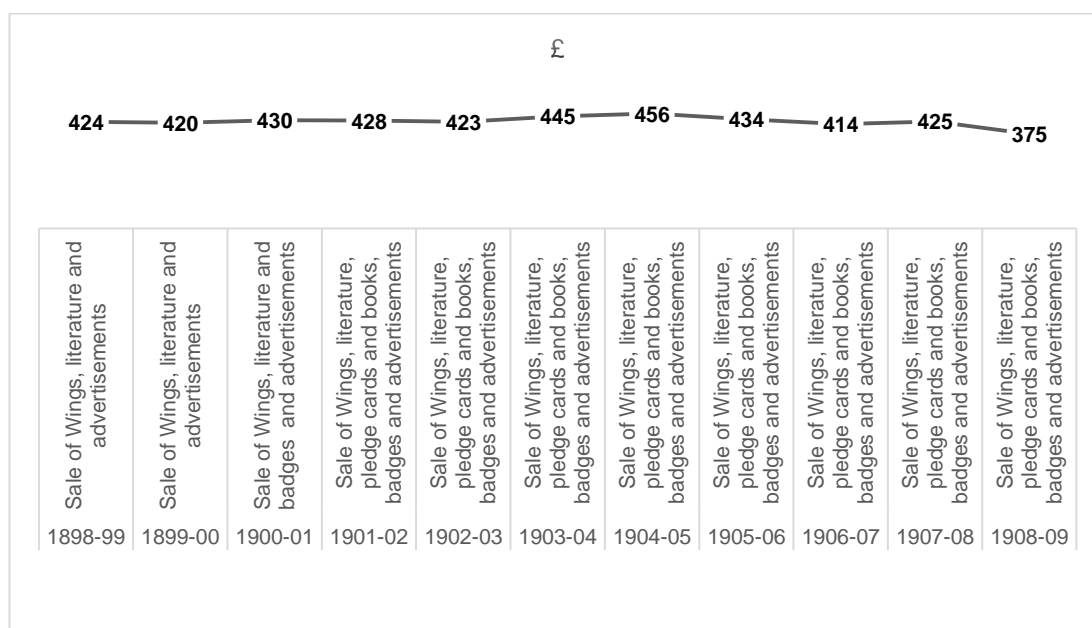
1898-1909 Income and Expenditure

Unfortunately, the costs were only set out in such detail for one year, 1897-8. From the following year, 1898-9, income associated with *Wings* was consistently listed in a single line, 'Sale of *Wings*, literature and advertisements'. In comparison, costs were recorded less consistently with categories being changed year on year.

Turning initially to income, the chart below shows that the revenue from *Wings*, advertisements, and literature, remained fairly consistent throughout the long fin de siècle period.

⁸⁵ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 59; and White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, pp. 75-76.

Fig 2.10 - Income from *Wings*, advertisements and associated literature, 1898-1909.



At first, only income from *Wings*, literature and adverts were recorded. In 1900-1, income from badges was added and in 1901-2, income from pledge books was also included. Previously, the income associated with badges and pledge books was not recorded anywhere. Rather than this income having been moved, it could be that the level of income they created now warranted inclusion. Only once did the income from *Wings* and ephemera drop significantly, in 1908-09, as it reduced to £375, the lowest for the period of this study.⁸⁶ The reasons for this are simply not known. The financial records for the following year are missing and so income generated in 1909-10 is unknown. In the following years, the decline did not continue and so is not necessarily indicative of a larger issue or decline in sales.⁸⁷

The income data is clear but it is more difficult to compare expenditure as this data was inconsistently recorded.

⁸⁶ *Sixteenth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1908-09, p. 78.

⁸⁷ 1910-11 - £388; 1911-12 - £383; 1912-13 - £405; 1913-14 - £414.

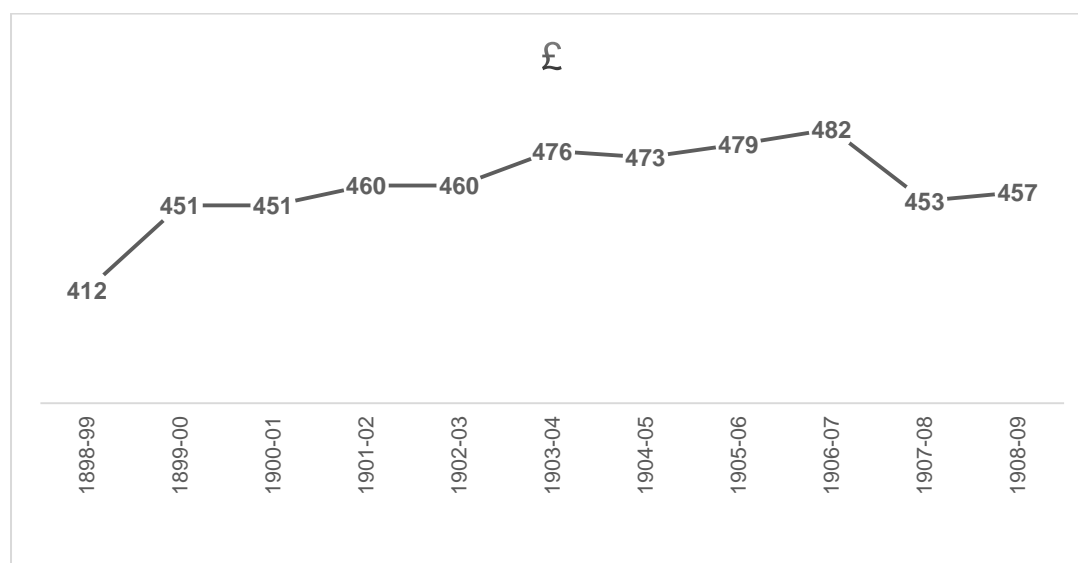
Fig 2.11 - Detailed expenditure on *Wings* and associated literature, 1898-1909.

	£	s	d
1898-99			
Printing reports, leaflets, <i>Wings</i>	412	9	0
1899-00			
Printing reports, leaflets, <i>Wings</i> , advertising etc	451	11	6
1900-01			
Printing <i>Wings</i> , editors postage and blocks, reports and advertising	374	15	5
Printing and Stationary, Members' Cards, Badges and Leaflets	77	11	11
1901-02			
Printing <i>Wings</i> , editors postage and blocks, reports and advertising	392	14	8
Printing and Stationary, Members' Cards, Badges and Leaflets	68	7	11
1902-03			
Printing <i>Wings</i> , editors postage and blocks, reports and advertising	403	1	1
Printing and Stationary, Members' Cards, Badges and Leaflets	57	4	11.5
1903-04			
Printing of <i>Wings</i>	349	5	5
Printing of Annual Report	33	0	6
General Printing, Stationary, Literature and Badges	94	10	2.5
1904-05			
Printing of <i>Wings</i>	343	9	2

Printing Annual Report	32	4	0
General Printing, Stationary, Literature and Badges	98	4	4.5
1905-6			
Printing of <i>Wings</i>	361	18	2.5
Printing Annual Report	35	18	0
General Printing, Stationary, Literature and Badges	83	7	2
1906-07			
Printing of <i>Wings</i>	348	13	8
Printing Annual Report	36	12	0
General Printing, Stationary, Literature and Badges	98	13	6
1907-08			
Printing of <i>Wings</i>	315	5	11
Printing Annual Report	36	14	0
General Printing, Stationary, Literature and Badges	102	9	7
1908-09			
Printing of <i>Wings</i>	309	16	10
Printing Annual Report	34	18	6
General Printing, Stationary, Literature and Badges	114	0	6

The data above has been totalled to enable more meaningful analysis and is shown in the graph below.

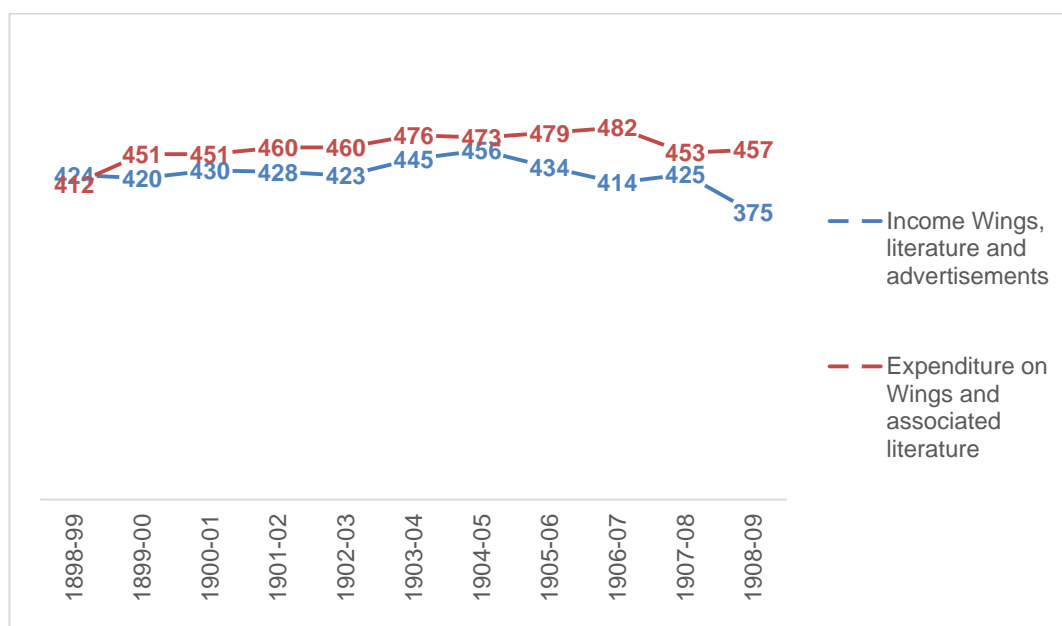
Fig 2.12 - Total approx. expenditure for *Wings* and associated literature, 1898-1909.



Costs associated with *Wings* jumped considerably between 1898-9 and 1899-00. In 1899, the minutes of the executive committee show that the president of the Union 'called attention to the improved quality of paper on which the July *Wings* [was] printed and explained that although it would cost 30/- per month extra, there would be great advantage in having clearer impressions from the blocks'.⁸⁸ The committee agreed and the new paper was adopted. The Union was concerned with the materiality of the journal and sought to make sure that its appearance was of high-quality and professional. Some of the extra expense can be attributed to this. After this though, costs continued to increase until 1903-4. At this point it evened out before falling considerably in 1907-8. There are no clear reasons for this and speculation would be unfounded. However, having the annual data for each year does allow a meaningful comparison and analysis of the finances of the journal and associated Union literature.

⁸⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, July 1899.

Fig 2.13 - Income and expenditure for *Wings* and associated literature, 1898-1909.



The cost to produce *Wings* and associated literature was consistently above the income it generated. Having a journal and temperance literature/materials would have helped the group to spread their temperance message and would also have been a source of legitimacy. However, these materials were never commercially self-sufficient and cost the Union more to produce than they brought in income. Chapter one explored the wider finances of the Union and argued that the Union was subsidised by wealthy members. It appears that some of this subsidisation was needed for the continuation of the journal. Harrison argues that few pressure group periodicals made money, but that promoting their sale, and this thesis suggests the process of creating and contributing to the journal itself, gave the 'rank and file something worthwhile to do'.⁸⁹ A journal was considered a necessity, a legitimate expense. Of course, though, it must be considered that the group felt other pressures to continue the journal as the Union and its members would certainly have faced reputational repercussions if the journal had folded. The issue of success is complex and it is not clear by what measure the Union would have considered the journal a

⁸⁹ Brian Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. by Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 261–95 (pp. 279–80).

success. Simply ensuring the continuation of the journal, in an increasingly competitive marketplace could be considered a measure of success. However, as demonstrated, the journal was a financial liability. It seems rather, that the Union was concerned with spreading their temperance message and likely saw success as being in an increased readership. They sought to ensure that the journal was read by as many people as possible. They attempted to ensure its availability and distribution, surely believing that an increased readership would mean an increased likelihood of temperance success.

***Wings* - Distribution**

The Union wanted to ensure that *Wings* was widely available and a notice was included in each issue stating that it was 'available in any bookseller or newsagent, from the office of the WTAU publishing co, from Messrs. Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., and from the offices of the Irish Temperance League'.⁹⁰ However, the nuances of availability are not conveyed in these notices. It is extremely unlikely that each bookseller or newsagent would simply carry copies of the journal, rather a reader would likely have had to order a specific title to guarantee availability. Indeed, this issue was acknowledged and addressed within the Union as in 1896, the executive committee proposed an agenda for council meetings, including papers on 'how to increase the circulation of *Wings*', 'how to improve *Wings*' and notably, 'what means could be taken to see our official organ *Wings* on sale at Smiths and other booksellers at railway stations'.⁹¹ The Union clearly wanted to see their journal on sale generally within booksellers and newsagents as increased availability would likely mean increased success. However, it is apparent from the agenda that booksellers and newsagents did not widely carry the title. The Union sought ways to amend this and to see *Wings* on sale at these outlets. There is no indication that they

⁹⁰ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 64.

⁹¹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, March 1896.

were successful as the issue was still being considered in 1906. The general committee received a notice from the secretary of the Union, stating that she 'had been in correspondence with Messrs Wyman and Sons who had taken over the bookstalls on the Great Western, N Western and North London railways in reference to placing *Wings* on the stalls'.⁹² The response from 'Messrs Wyman' was that they had not been asked for the paper. As a result, the general committee asked members present to ask for *Wings* directly: 'it was thought that if ladies would ask for *Wings* it might lead to its being placed on the stalls which would be a good advertisement'.⁹³ The Union, even though physically remaining in the centre of Victorian publishing and printing, outlined in chapter one, still faced difficulties with wider distribution and accessibility. They sought to ensure that the journal was widely and immediately available, but were not able to ensure this in reality, despite the assertions within the journal.

It was not only the WTAU who wished to see their journal on sale within railway stations. The rise of the railway meant that distribution was improved and newspapers and journals were now easily sent around the country. Beetham states that 'the railway boom of the mid-century led to the development of "railway reading" and new outlets on station platforms'.⁹⁴ The rise in both leisured and commuting time meant that reading within railway space, whether the station or train itself, became a popular pastime. To meet this demand, station bookstalls such as W. H. Smith expanded with the motto 'all who ride may read'.⁹⁵ In an early issue of the *Signal*, a notice to readers stated 'friends of the temperance, the women's, and the Labour movement will please ask for this paper at the railway bookstalls, as by doing so they can, without expense, help the paper more than in almost any other way'.⁹⁶ If groups could not take

⁹² WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1906.

⁹³ WTAU General Committee minutes, January 1906.

⁹⁴ Beetham, 'Women and the Consumption of Print', p. 61.

⁹⁵ Richard Altick, *The English Common Reader; A Social History of the Mass Reading Public 1800-1900* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957), p. 302.

⁹⁶ *Woman's Signal*, 18 January 1894, p. 43.

advantage of this new method of availability, then any success would have been compromised. After the split and with supporters now in smaller numbers in both groups, sustainability was apparently a concern for both the WTAU and NBWTA. Both groups sought to ensure that their journal was as widely available as possible, likely to increase financial viability and success.

Although not financially important, the rise of public libraries also provided an opportunity for availability and visibility. Here though, the issue of commercial success is complicated. In this space, the Union wished to spread the temperance message and *Wings* was purely reformatory. However, ensuring that *Wings* was in reading rooms could also have been a technique designed to entice new subscribers by exposing them to the magazine's contents. Chris Baggs discusses the rise of ladies' reading rooms and the provision of material deemed suitable for women readers, yet cautions that as few public libraries were run by women, the available material should rather be viewed as the choices of male librarians. The titles are instead representative of what male librarians believed that their female readers would 'either want or should have'.⁹⁷ Whilst temperance titles were 'fairly frequently' found in ladies' reading rooms, feminist journals were less common, demonstrating a concern over female reading material.⁹⁸ *Wings* was likely considered suitable reading material and indeed, as outlined earlier, in November 1896, permission had been secured to 'place *Wings* on the tables of the Free Library in Whitechapel'.⁹⁹ It is important to stress that this arrangement only secured *Wings* a precarious position within the library. Even though the title could be left on the table, the library did not subscribe to the title and therefore, the WTAU would not have gained any direct commercial benefit.

The main source of distribution, rather than via newsagents or reading rooms, was the Union structure itself. This created a substantial distribution network for the

⁹⁷ Chris Baggs, "In the Separate Reading Room for Ladies Are Provided Those Publications Specially Interesting to Them": Ladies' Reading Rooms and British Public Libraries 1850-1914', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 38.3 (2005), 280-306 (p. 284).

⁹⁸ Baggs, p. 288.

⁹⁹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1896.

journal. Although a circulation of 4,000 has been calculated, it is unclear how many of these sales were to Union members and how many were external to the Union. By 1898, when the journal had a circulation of 4,000, the Union had a membership of around 13,000. This suggests that even if all 4,000 sales were to Union members, not every member purchased their own copy.¹⁰⁰ Branches received *Wings* as part of their federation fee and so it may have been that many members may have read the journal via this subscription or as a hand-me-down from another member.

Distribution costs

Financial records for the Union show that there was a cost incurred by the Union in sending copies of the journal to subscribers and secretaries. In the first three years of the organisation this cost was recorded simply as '*Wings*, postage' and the cost each year is below.

Fig 2.14 - *Wings* postage costs, 1893-6.

1893-94			1894-95			1895-96		
£	s	d	£	s	d	£	s	d
3	1	1	9	19	1	11	8	0.5

Costs of distribution increased year on year, most likely as the organisation was becoming established and more people subscribed to the journal. However, in the years following this, the costs were once again recorded differently. The lines of text differed slightly in some years and some years specified that postage was included whilst others did not. The full wording and cost can be seen in the table below.

¹⁰⁰ *Fifth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1897-8*, p. 65-83.

Fig 2.15 - Table showing the annual costs associated with the supply and distribution of *Wings*, 1896-1909.

Year	Wording in annual report	Cost associated		
		£	s	d
1896-97	Free copies of <i>Wings</i> to subscribers and secretaries	16	13	2.5
1897-98	Supply of official organ free to subscribers, societies and others	32	0	1
1898-99	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	35	8	4
1899-00	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	37	14	9
1900-01	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	39	3	10
1901-02	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	33	17	2
1902-03	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	33	5	6
1903-04	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	33	4	0
1904-05	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	33	6	8
1905-06	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	33	17	5
1906-07	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	32	3	10.5

1907-08	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	33	6	6
1908-09	Free copies of official organ to subscribers, and secretaries, periodicals, etc.	34	4	5.5

The records show that free copies were sent to subscribers, secretaries and periodicals and these three categories will each be dealt with in turn. Considering the free distribution can assist in understanding of the aims of the Union and whether they saw commerciality or an increased readership as a greater sign of success. Firstly, for subscribers, the first annual report stated that *Wings* would be sent to each individual subscriber to the Union, if they contributed more than 5s per annum.¹⁰¹ It also stated that *Wings* would be sent to every federated society but here, the number of copies to be sent was not specified.¹⁰² In February 1894 a notice in *Wings* stated 'let every branch make it a rule, henceforth, that sufficient copies of *Wings* shall be ordered each month to enable every member to have one of her own. Increased interest and prosperity will soon repay for the outlay'.¹⁰³ Branches had to pay for copies of the journal, at their own cost. Secondly, secretaries could refer to the travelling secretaries of the Union, women who travelled the country, establishing branches and addressing meetings. These women sold Union literature as part of their role and so this could have been a tactical decision. In sending them copies for free, the Union would surely receive more income at a later point. Thirdly, and finally, the Union incurred a cost in sending *Wings* to periodicals. In sending *Wings* to other periodicals and possibly groups, the Union could build connections - possibly in the hope that an advertisement for their journal would be placed in another. The Union absorbed costs associated with the distribution of *Wings*, most likely in an attempt to

¹⁰¹ *First Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 11.

¹⁰² *First Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 11.

¹⁰³ *Wings*, February 1894, p. 21.

spread the reforming message contained within their journal. They were forced to balance a line between commercial success and social reform work. In terms of availability, branch orders, individual subscriptions, bookseller sales and library copies were combined to ensure the greatest possible success.

Why *Wings*?

The titles analysed in this chapter shared a need to make themselves competitive and successful in a crowded marketplace as ‘not less than 48 new titles entered the field [of women’s magazines] between 1880 and 1900.’¹⁰⁴ As the female periodical market was so crowded, it must be questioned why a woman would choose to read *Wings*. In the United Kingdom, it was the only title aimed at women which stated its sole focus as being temperance reform. It repeatedly extolled that it ‘enjoy[ed] the unique honour of being the only paper in the United Kingdom, devoted exclusively to Women’s Temperance Work.’¹⁰⁵ This would doubtless be a selling point for Union members as they sought to work within the field. Yet, to encourage success it was not overtly progressive nor solely conservative. It included moral messages alongside political material, and, as a result, appealed to a wide section of reform workers.

In many ways, *Wings* was unique. It was the only title with temperance focus and yet it also went beyond this. It provided its women readers with the latest in temperance work and news of reform, whilst also supplying them with domestic management skills, education and political knowledge. To attempt commercial success, it utilised techniques of New Journalism, including features designed to entertain. Competitions, serialised fiction, inspirational quotations and ‘tit-bits’ appealed to the wider reader, as proven by the more successful titles such as *Hearth and Home*, and ensured that female temperance readers were able to get everything they needed and wanted from *Wings* alone. They were informed, educated and

¹⁰⁴ White, *The Women’s Periodical Press in Britain 1946-1976*, p. 58.

¹⁰⁵ *First Annual Report of the Women’s Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 18.

entertained in one title. It provided its women readers with amusement, as well as discussion of the serious work of reform. It took aspects of each of the genres considered and included parts of these in each issue. It had the reforming agenda of *The Shield* and the *Women's Signal*, the general interest and domesticity of *Hearth and Home*, and the children's content of *Girl's Own Paper*. *Wings* was a one-stop magazine for female temperance workers, as it gave them information related to the movement but also included additional content concerned with the wider female experience. It was successful because it included all of these aspects as well as undertaking a balancing act between conservative and progressive issues. Yet commercially, *Wings* was problematic. It was not financially viable and cost the Union more to produce than it created. The Union attempted to ensure an increased readership through wide availability but there is little evidence that the journal was ever commercially successful. Rather, success should be measured in other ways. *Wings* had an extremely long print run (1892-1926), when other journals around it failed. But, as stated, it was propped up by the Union. Rather, Harrison's consideration of the purpose of temperance journals more widely should be applied to *Wings*. It was successful because it inspired, informed and integrated its readers.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', p. 282.

Chapter Three: Advertising

By January 1894, the schism of the previous year had been finalised and from this point on, the Union was in full control of the journal. The page of advertisements below appeared in *Wings* in January 1894. On the left of the page, an advert for Towle's Pennyroyal and Steel Pills was situated above two for various fabrics. At the top right of the page, an advertisement for Birkbeck Bank, outlining savings accounts and interest rates, was placed above one for a Thomson's corset, which promised to fit the reader 'like a glove'. Finally, at the bottom of the page, the reader could purchase curtains 'for the present season' of 'superior quality and artistic design' whilst an advert for Dr Rooke's 'solar elixir and oriental pills' promised to cure almost any known disease. This page, with its wide variety of content, neatly demonstrates the complexity of readership construction in *Wings*.

Fig 3.1 - Page of advertisements, *Wings*, January 1894.¹

TOWLE'S PENNYROYAL PILLS FOR FEMALES

Quickly correct all Irregularities, remove all Obstructions, and Relieve the Distressing Symptoms so prevalent with the Sex.

Boxes 1s. 1d. and 2s. 6d. (the latter contains three times the quantity), of all Chemists. Sent anywhere on receipt of 1s or 2s 6d. Stamps by the maker, E. T. Towle, Chemist, Nottingham.

Remedy of Indigestion, Dyspepsia and Headaches.

HACKETT'S SWANSDOWN FLANNELETTES.

Fast colours and unshrinkable. Made extra wide for Nightdresses, &c. **HACKETT'S CHEVIETTE TWEEDS** for Dresses and Dressing-Gowns are unsurpassed. PATTERNS FREE, carriage paid.

CARDIGAN WORKS, 8, HIGH STREET, BIRMINGHAM.

ROBINSON & CLEAVER, BELFAST.

IRISH CAMBRIC

Children's bordered..	1/3
Ladies'	2/3
Gents'	3/3
Hemstitched—Ladies'	2/9
" Gents'	3/11

SAMPLES AND PRICE LISTS POST FREE.

POCKET HANDKERCHIEFS.

LINEN COLLARS, CUFFS AND SHIRTS. Ladies' 3-fold, from 3/6 per doz.; Gents' 4-fold, 4/11 per doz. **CUFFS**—For Ladies or Gentlemen, from 1/11 per doz. **SHIRTS**—Best quality Longcloth, with 4-fold Linen Fronts, 35/6 per half-doz. (to measure, 2/- extra). Old Shirts made good as new, with best materials in neckbands, cuffs, and fronts, for 14/- the half-doz.

IRISH DAMASK TABLE LINEN. Fish Napkins, 2/41 per doz. Dinner Napkins, 5/6 per doz. Table Cloths, 2 yards square, 2/11; at yards by 3 yards, 5/11 each. Kitchen Table Cloths, 1/11 each. Strong Huckaback Towels, 4/6 per doz. Printed Linen Pillow Cases, from 1/21 each.

ROBINSON & CLEAVER (By Special Appointment to the Queen and the Empress Frederick of Germany), BELFAST.

THE GREATEST KNOWN REMEDY

FOR

INDIGESTION,
BRONCHITIS,
LIVER COMPLAINTS,
ASTHMA,
PULMONARY CONSUMPTION,
RHEUMATISM,
GOUT, SCROFULA, POOR BLOOD,
GENERAL DEBILITY, and all diseases of the
NERVOUS SYSTEM, from whatever cause arising.

DR. ROOKE'S SOLAR ELIXIR ORIENTAL PILLS

HAVE WORKED WONDERS.

A gentleman residing at 4 Princess Street, Hurst, Ashton-under-Lyne, writes:—"Dr. Rooke,—Dear Sir,—I have pleasure in complimenting you upon your **VERY VALUABLE PILLS**. They have **WORKED WONDERS** in our family, and they continue to do so. There are no other Pills that agree with us as yours do."

THE PILLS are sold in boxes, at 1s. 1d., 2s. 9d. & 4s. 6d. each. THE ELIXIR in bottles at 2s. 9d., 4s. 6d. & 11s. each.

These remedies are sold by Chemists, Druggists, and Patent Medicine Vendors in all parts of the world.

DR. ROOKE, Ltd., Scarborough, YORKS.

FREE! One of the most valuable works ever issued. Tells how to cure common ailments easily, surely, and quickly, sent post free for a short time on receipt of application, naming this paper, by

DR. ROOKE, LTD., SCARBOROUGH, YORKS.

BIRKBECK BANK,

ESTABLISHED 1851.
Southampton Buildings, Chancery Lane, London.

TWO AND A HALF PER CENT. INTEREST allowed on DEPOSITS, repayable on Demand.

TWO PER CENT. INTEREST on CURRENT ACCOUNTS, calculated on the minimum monthly balances, when not drawn below £100.

STOCKS, SHARES, and ANNUITIES purchased and sold.

SAVINGS DEPARTMENT.

For the encouragement of Thrift the Bank receives small sums on deposit and allows Interest MONTHLY on each completed £1.

BIRKBECK BUILDING SOCIETY.

HOW TO PURCHASE A HOUSE FOR TWO GUINEAS PER MONTH.

BIRKBECK FREEHOLD LAND SOCIETY.

HOW TO PURCHASE A PLOT OF LAND FOR FIVE SHILLINGS PER MONTH.

The BIRKBECK ALMANACK contains full particulars, and may be had post free on application to **FRANCIS RAVENSCROFT, Manager.**

THOMSON'S CORSET.

Long Waist
"Glove Fitting"

PERFECTION! Sold by all Drapers. Annual Sales One Million Pairs.

PRICE:

D - 10/6	F - 6/6
E - 8/6	G - 5/-

Black, 1/- extra.

Approved by the whole polite world.

If your Draper cannot supply you, write direct to 49 OLD BAILEY, LONDON, giving size, and enclosing P.O.O., and the Corset will at once be sent you.

W. S. THOMSON & CO., Ltd.
MANUFACTURERS.

TWELVE FIRST MEDALS. MADE IN LENGTHS, 13, 14, & 15 IN.

CURTAINS

FOR THE
PRESENT SEASON.

ALL TAPED EDGES.

THESE SPLENDID CURTAINS
SELLING IN THOUSANDS.

600. 58 in. wide, 3 yds. long, Taped Edges, 3/9 per pair

58 " " 3 1/2 " " " " 4/9 "

58 " " 4 " " " " 5/6 "

CARRIAGE PAID.

SUPERIOR QUALITY. ARTISTIC DESIGN.

Do not destroy these Patterns. If no use, kindly hand them to a friend.

W. COTTON

(Established 50 Years),
WEEKDAY CROSS, NOTTINGHAM.

This chapter examines advertising, a key aspect of the periodical press, and undertakes a close reading of the page above in order to understand how women of the Union were constructed by advertisements within the journal. The page pictured above demonstrates implicit contradictions in female experience at the end of the century as women were positioned as domestic, subservient creatures but also as potentially powerful consumers in their own right. This chapter explores those contradictions, asserting that the Union constructed their readers through their

¹ *Wings*, January 1894, p. vi.

decisions to reject or carry specific adverts. In doing so, they advised their readers on the correct or most acceptable version of middle-class femininity. Advertisements within *Wings* must be considered as an extension of the WTAU and are explored here in three ways. Firstly, the financial implications are considered to argue that the Union used advertising to establish themselves but also to create significant income. Secondly, an in-depth analysis of the single page above is undertaken and used to illustrate issues of appearance, health, and financial authority. Finally, this chapter explores the way in which the Union used advertisements to build networks and to reinforce their appearance as respectable, temperance reformers.

It must be noted at the outset that this chapter uses the digitised version of *Wings*, only available from late 1892 to 1900. Advertisements are a valuable source, but due to the preservation practice of binding, these have often been stripped out of periodicals. In comparison, adverts remain in the digitised version of *Wings* and allow for a heterogeneous consideration of the journal.

Shopping and Advertising

Krista Lysack asserts that 'following the opening of Britain's first department store in 1863, the first of many purpose-built modern department stores, the notion of shopping as a leisure activity was becoming fully institutionalised'.² The emergence of 'looking' as an acceptable pastime, alongside increasing consumer confidence, ensured that traditionally male urban spaces now also became spaces of female pleasure and leisure. As a result, advertisers increasingly appealed to women and Thomas Richards asserts that 'advertisers defined consumption as an extension of the sexual division of labour enshrined in the Victorian household'.³ Although the man of the house was expected to allot an amount to his wife, with which she would feed

² Krista Lysack, *Come Buy, Come Buy: Shopping and the Culture of Consumption in Victorian Women's Writing* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2008), p. 7.

³ Thomas Richards, *The Commodity Culture of Victorian England: Advertising and Spectacle, 1851-1914* (London: Verso, 1990), p. 206.

and clothe her family, she was able to exercise economic control over the household as she was able to determine exactly what entered the home, and at what cost.⁴ This control over the family budget allowed women to increase their buying power. They became active consumers, leaving the private domestic space and entering the commercial realm.

Yet, this new female consumerist model was problematic when considered alongside contemporary ideals. The middle classes needed 'the domestic angel to venture into the city's commercial culture', but a family's respectability also depended upon the women of the family being able to keep away from the public world.⁵ This intrinsic contradiction can be further problematized through the issue of female safety as Walkowitz considers the danger of this new commercial domain. She asserts that 'shopping fulfilled women's social obligations as status symbols of their families' wealth', but also 'simultaneously exposed them to new dangers' as they were subject to male seduction and unable to control their own impulses.⁶ When shopping, the safety of women was potentially at risk both from those around them, but also through losing control of themselves. Richards considers female impulse using an illustration from *The Struggles of Brown, Jones, and Robinson* (1870) whereby two women attack a male clerk when a product in the store is unavailable.⁷ He notes that 'the angel in the house was likely to become a demon the moment she stepped foot in a department store'.⁸ Finally, in her examination of female shoplifting, Tammy Whitlock considers female shopping more broadly, and asserts that 'the role of women as aggressive consumers clashed with their home-centred image'.⁹ A loss of control, potential violence, and commercial power was at odds with the image of respectable,

⁴ Kelley Graham, *Gone to the Shops: Shopping in Victorian England* (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Group, 2008), p. 58.

⁵ Erika Diane Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), p. 6.

⁶ Judith Walkowitz, 'Going Public: Shopping, Street Harassment, and Streetwalking in Late Victorian London', *Representations*, 1998, 1-30 (p. 5).

⁷ Anthony Trollope, 'Jones is vanquished by Mrs. Morony', *The Struggles of Brown, Jones, and Robinson* (1870) [Accessed via Project Gutenberg 10/08/2017] discussed in Richards, p. 101.

⁸ Richards, p. 101.

⁹ Tammy Whitlock, *Crime, Gender and Consumer Culture in Nineteenth Century England* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2005), p. 7.

quiet, feminine modesty. Although they were able to take advantage of new freedoms, leave the home and enter an apparently feminised space, debates around the role of middle-class women clearly continued. Women had to maintain their reputation and respectability, whilst also being able to undertake their domestic, consumerist role. The rise of the female periodical press therefore provided a novel way in which to do this.

The rapid expansion in women's periodicals meant that women were now able to access adverts within the pages of their own magazines and Erika Rappaport asserts that 'women's papers kindled the flames of consumer desire'.¹⁰ Through the periodical press, advertisements were now invited into the domestic space, via the pages of a trusted title and Lori Anne Loeb Loeb asserts that the periodical press 'emerged as a celebrated expert of the Victorian advertisement'.¹¹ Significantly, this enabled women to undertake their domestic, economic role, whilst ensuring that their respectability was not negatively affected. Titles constantly encouraged women readers 'to spend more on beautifying themselves or their homes, or suggesting new leisure time activities or publicising new entertainments'.¹² This can consistently be seen in the titles analysed in chapter two. *Myra's Journal* carried a large number of advertisements, many concerned specifically with female beautification. Dresses, powders, hair products, and gloves were sold alongside feminine entertainments such as decorative needlework novelties and patterns. Going further though, consumerist activities were also encouraged outside of specific advertisements, in correspondence columns. In February 1894 'Myra's Hints to Correspondents', for instance, advised that the creation of a new bodice was an urgent necessity.¹³ Women were constructed as consumers, as requiring the very latest in fashion. Even though aimed at younger readers, the *Girl's Own Paper* also contained a 'question

¹⁰ Rappaport, pp. 111-12.

¹¹ Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), p. 78.

¹² White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 68.

¹³ *Myra's*, February 1894, p. 18.

and answer' session in which readers were provided with answers on issues such as art and education and where girls were encouraged to buy paints, patterns and flowers, beginning a consumerist pattern. Adverts and correspondence articles across the female press overtly and covertly situate the woman (or girl) reader in the role of consumer. Fraser et al rightly suggest that 'the promotion of consumption itself became a matter of concern for the self-conscious popular magazine'.¹⁴ White develops this further, stating that 'the expansion of the women's periodical press was in fact being underwritten by advertisers from the 1880s onwards'.¹⁵ This can be seen in the increased use of 'puffs' or 'advertorials' where advertising 'came directly, through editorial mentions and recommendations, and the incorporation of advertising matter indistinguishable from editorial content'.¹⁶ Relationships between editors, advertisers, and readers were complex and nuanced. Attracting advertisers was commercially beneficial for female magazines, but advertisers only wanted to appear in the most successful titles and thus reach the widest possible audience. Commercial success was vital to attracting advertisers but also, in turn, advertisers brought increased chances of financial success. Titles attempted to ensure repeat advertising and Tusan states that readers were asked 'to mention to merchants that they had seen a particular advertisement in a woman's paper in order to guarantee advertiser patronage'.¹⁷ Without this ongoing patronage, journals would face financial difficulty.

Financial implications

Wings hosted advertisements, as will be considered throughout this chapter, but the Union also spent money on advertising themselves, their journal/literature and their activities. In February 1896, the executive committee discussed an upcoming Union event, to which several significant invitations were to be sent out. These were not

¹⁴ Fraser, Green, and Johnston, p. 193.

¹⁵ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 66.

¹⁶ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 68.

¹⁷ Tusan, p. 103.

advertisements as such, but the Union did ask that attendees included a report of the meeting in their journals. Tickets were to be sent to 'the editors of *The Lancet*, *British Medical Journal*, *The Hospital*, *The Queen* and *Nursing Record*.'¹⁸ The event was aimed at nurses with the possible establishment of a WTAU federated nurses' league and so the invitation to medical journals is not unexpected. However, the invitation to the editor of *The Queen* is noteworthy. A weekly title priced at six pence per week, it explicitly addressed 'the upper-ten-thousand', those in the highest society.¹⁹ Through advertising in a journal such as this, it seems as though the Union was attempting to widen their readership, perhaps hoping to attract a higher class, of potentially powerful, women readers. At this point, the new president of the society was incoming, Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, and as a titled individual and the wife of an MP, Biddulph would probably have had society connections. This advertisement can be seen as a desire to attract more members, and those of a higher class.

Further, in November 1896, the executive committee expressed their wish that a bazaar, to take place in the coming weeks, would be advertised in *The Church of England Temperance Chronicle*, *The Temperance Record*, *Alliance News*, and *The Woman's Signal*.²⁰ Once again, advertisements were included in a variety of titles and here, the inclusion in the *Woman's Signal* is noteworthy. The *Signal* included a full advert for the Union bazaar, providing information on the location, admission cost, and the women opening the event.²¹ Although the two groups were completely separate by this point, and the *Signal* was not focused only on temperance, they evidently retained links. The WTAU advertised their event in the pages of this title which dealt with controversial subjects, demonstrating that their determination to retain their respectability was conflicted with their desire to advertise their events, attract new supporters and ensure success.

¹⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1896.

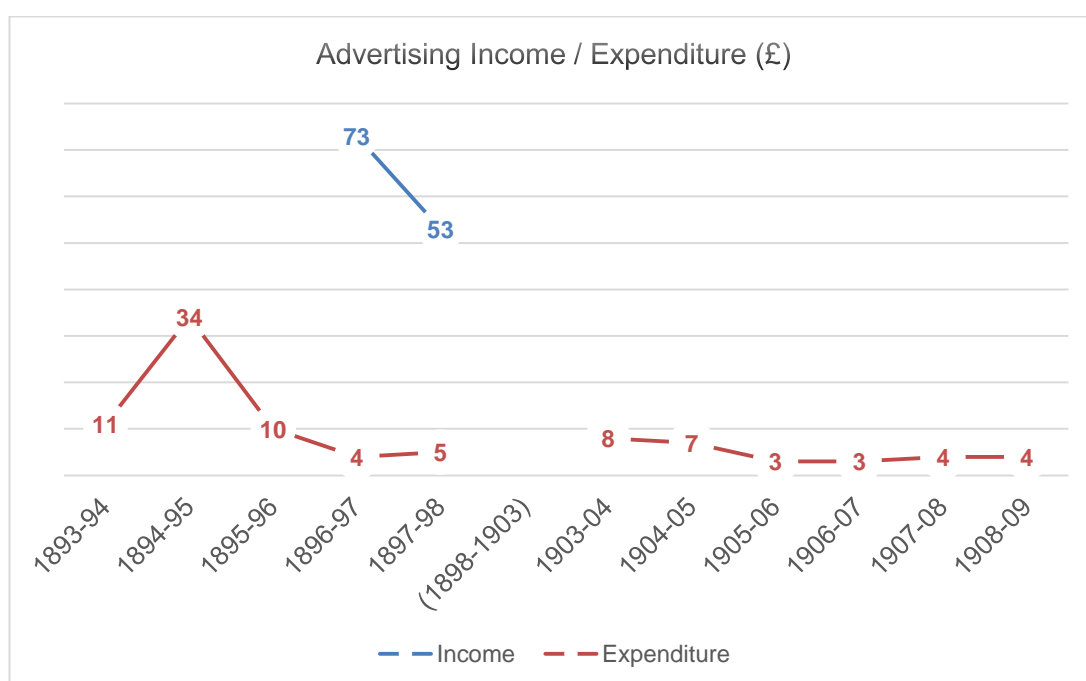
¹⁹ Beetham and Boardman, p. 58.

²⁰ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1896.

²¹ *The Woman's Signal*, 03 December 1896, p. 367.

Information about the financial implications of advertising can be seen in the financial records of the Union. However, these provide only a limited picture. Annual expenditure on advertising was listed in the annual report from 1893-1898 and again from 1903-1909. In the intervening years, either no expenditure was recorded, or the costs of this were subsumed within larger categories. For income from advertising, the picture is even more vague. A specific individual amount spent was only listed for two years, 1896-7 and 1897-8. For the period 1893-1896, no amount was recorded, and for 1898-1909, the amount gained from advertising was included in a larger cost category. The information that can be gleaned is shown on the graph below.

Fig 3.2 - Advertising income and expenditure for the WTAU, 1893-1909.



The group spent most on advertising in the years immediately following their foundation. This suggests that as they were trying to establish themselves as a significant force in social reform work, they felt the need to advertise their actions and their journal. This amount reduced in later years and remained fairly stable. The Union did spend money on advertising themselves, but this was not a large amount.

However, the income gained through carrying advertisements in *Wings* was significantly more. For the two comparable years, 1896-7 and 1897-8, the Union spent £4 and £5 respectively, whilst they gained £73 and £53. Advertising was clearly a source of significant income for the Union. Keeping advertisers happy was a requirement for the group.

In June 1901 an unnamed advertiser expressed discontent about the colour of an advert that been placed on the cover of *Wings*. Due to this dissatisfaction, the advertiser in question cancelled all future appearances of the advertisement. The Union executive considered the issue and as a result, decided that the cover colour would be deeper in the future and that the advertisement would be rerun for free the following month, 'in the hope that it may then be renewed'.²² The prominence of this advertisement on the front cover, and the concern of the Union show that this had financial and reputational effects. Harrison argues that pressure-group periodicals often had to attract advertisers to minimise financial losses, and after considering the financial difficulties of the journal in chapter two, this appears to be the case for *Wings*.²³ The group was eager to retain advertisers and the income that adverts generated. Yet, although advertisements created income and were valuable to the Union, there were occasions when advertisements were rejected. This chapter argues that although income from advertisements was vital to the Union, they were also concerned with how featured advertisements would affect their respectability.

Advertising in *Wings*

Throughout 1893, the year of the split, advertising in *Wings* was under the control of T.W. Hannaford, sole advertising agent.²⁴ This agent was co-located with the WTAU at their first permanent address in Ludgate Hill and may indeed be the reason the

²² WTAU Executive Committee minutes, June 1901.

²³ Brian Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', in *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, ed. by Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1982), pp. 261-95 (p. 281).

²⁴ *Wings*, December 1894, p. iv.

WTAU took up residence there after the split with the BWTA. However, at the outset of 1894, as the split was finally formalised and the journal came under the sole control of the Union, notices were included which stated, for 'advertising space on this page apply to the WTAU Publishing Company Ltd., 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill.'²⁵ This statement appeared on pages iii and iv, yet on page vi, the previous notice assigning sole responsibility to T. W. Hannaford appears. It is unclear at this point who had control over the advertisements within *Wings*, but from this point, the Union began to take an active interest in the advertisements placed within *Wings*. However, the advertising agent was apparently a fluid position. By 1897, it had changed to Mr Cruikshank. He had considered the placement of (or placed) advertisements on editorial pages and was told by the executive committee that he should 'be careful not to do this more than possible and to keep the adverts to the back pages'.²⁶ Beetham considers the issue of encroaching advertisement and states that in the second part of the century, 'the editorial tradition of segregating advertisements on separate pages and confining them to the endpages began to be eroded'.²⁷ The Union was apparently attempting to continue this practice and were evidently unhappy with Mr Cruikshank. In December of the same year, he was given 'three months formal notice to terminate his agreement as advertising agent'.²⁸ By February 1898 though, Miss Cruikshank had taken over the agency and sought permission to continue with the Union. This arrangement continued beyond the end of the century.

Regardless of the named advertising agent, advertising consistently formed a significant part of *Wings* and it seems that the Union had some control over aspects of this. It must be noted here though that evidence of decision making is not always available. In some instances, it is simply unknown whether the Union had any choice over the inclusion or exclusion of individual advertisements. Yet, within this caveat,

²⁵ *Wings*, January 1894, p. iii.

²⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, July 1897.

²⁷ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 146.

²⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, December 1897.

on several occasions the group did veto specific advertisements. Where evidence exists of these decisions, this chapter argues that through inclusion or exclusion, they constructed their readers in particular ways. They reinforced ideals and advised their readers on the most appropriate form of middle-class femininity. To illustrate some of these decisions, this section will undertake an in-depth analysis of advertisements in *Wings* from 1894, the first year in which *Wings* was under the sole control of the Union. It will use the page included at the outset of this chapter and consider issues of appearance, health and financial authority.

Appearance

The page of advertisements included at the outset included one for Thomson's corsets. This inclusion is not unexpected. The rational dress debate was increasing and the question of women's bodily power was consistently addressed in the periodical press. The infamous 'corset correspondence' in the *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* shows that these debates were being held from the mid-century onwards. In this lengthy correspondence, a mother was distressed that she had returned home from a trip to find her daughter subjected to tight lacing by her boarding school teachers, calling it a 'system of torture'.²⁹ However, one respondent declared 'if you want a girl to grow up gentle and womanly in her ways and feelings, lace her tight'.³⁰ The female body was both the place of potential liberation but also implicit control. In including advertisements for the Thomson's corset, the Union was constructing its women members in a particular, respectable way, via the promotion of traditional feminine dress. Throughout 1894, adverts for corsets within *Wings* were common, each proclaiming the product's effectiveness and comfort. Four types of

²⁹ *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, March 1867, p. 164-5.

³⁰ *Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine*, February 1871 p. 127.

corset were advertised throughout the year, including Izod's corset, Thomson's corset, a knitted corset, and a 'platinum anti-corset'.³¹

Fig 3.3 - Corset adverts in *Wings*, 1894.







1. Affords entire support without exercising any compression whatever.
2. By its scientific cut gives perfect ease of respiration, diminishing any tendency to consumption, and in many cases totally preventing the majority of female ailments.
3. Is washed with perfect ease, all bones removing in 10 seconds (a great feature, this).
4. Being boned throughout with "PLATINUM" BONES, there is no fear of the supports breaking or cracking.
5. Economy is secured, as no slip bodice is needed, and the Anti-Corset lasts twice as long as the most expensive Corset.
6. It is tasteful in design and elegant in appearance, and, by doing away with the excessive bulk of ordinary stays, actually gives a smaller waist measure.
7. And is made to fit every type of figure.

These pieces were sold as though their health benefits were scientifically proven and the advert for the knitted corset stated that it was recommended by the medical profession, utilising a distinct scientific and authoritative tone. For women interested and increasingly educated in scientific temperance, this selling point likely meant an increased level of success.

In particular, the Thomson corset had the tagline 'approved by the whole polite world', demonstrating that the wearing of a corset was deemed necessary for women to engage in polite society and reach the required level of femininity.³² Beetham

³¹ Izod's, *Wings*, January 1894, p. 0; Thomson's, *Wings*, January 1894, p. vi; Knitted corset, *Wings*, February 1894, p. 0; Platinum anti-corset, *Wings*, August 1894, p. ii.

³² *Wings*, January 1894, p. vi.

reinforces this, stating that the corset ‘carried a set of meanings which concerned not beauty and nature but society and decorum’.³³ Even the supposed anti-corset was a corset, simply with removable boning and a greater, yet apparently more comfortable, level of support. In including adverts for these products, *Wings* was subtly reinforcing the normative feminine ideal and women readers were advised of its necessity. They were told to participate in and embrace respectable, normative femininity via acceptable feminine dress. Women were constructed overwhelmingly in terms of their beauty - corsets were deemed to bring a more feminine shape. In 1894, advertisements concerned with female physical appearance formed the largest number. Adverts for clothing/cloth, hosiery, hair pins, hair curlers, tooth and face powder, and dressmaking were common. Further, the appearance of several adverts for fabrics, curtains, and flannelettes, included on the page at the outset of this chapter, indicate that a woman was not only responsible for her own appearance but also that of her home. However, in the previous year, more controversial adverts concerned with appearance had also been included.

In 1893, several adverts for rational dress clothing, namely pantaloons, were included, declaring the item ‘the most comfortable garment for riding, cycling, hunting, mountain climbing, touring &c.’³⁴

Fig 3.4 - Advert for knitted pantaloons, *Wings*, August 1893.

³³ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 85.

³⁴ *Wings*, August 1893, p. ii.

Rational dress was an extremely controversial topic and the inclusion of this advert potentially asserts that women had a further purpose besides beauty and femininity, and that their bodies were capable of activity and exercise. This issue was raised once more at the end of 1893, when an advert for a book entitled *The Well-Dressed Woman* by Helen G Ecob was included. At 4s, this book was expensive in comparison to *Wings* and clearly aimed at well-off women, those who had time and resources available to spend on cultivating their appearance. The advert stated that ‘all sensible women must take a deep interest’ in the topic of dress reform and that ‘the laws of health, beauty and morals [were] duly considered’ within.³⁵ It is unclear from the advertisement alone whether this book would support rational dress reform but the preface to the second edition stated that ‘Miss Frances Willard and Lady Henry Somerset “especially commend it to local unions”’.³⁶ As Somerset was mentioned by name, and due to the ‘do everything’ nature of reform that she favoured, it would be expected that the text would be in favour of rational dress reform. Indeed, it stated:

It is obvious that woman’s dress is not suited to the needs of a two-legged animal, as regards locomotion, cleanliness, or carrying power.

Under the pressure of public opinion “the weaker vessel”, is compelled to do her work under exhausting conditions which men of powerful physique would not tolerate.³⁷

The book advocated women’s work, rational dress reform, and also questioned their place as the ‘weaker vessel’. This, and the pantaloons advert, were included in 1893, the year of the split. After this point though, neither advert reappeared which suggests that after the split, the Union wished to avoid controversial issues such as rational dress. In comparison, in the *Signal*, the pantaloons advert was not included, but the issue of rational dress was discussed almost constantly. Advertisements for corsets

³⁵ *Wings*, December 1893, p. 288.

³⁶ Helen G Ecob, *The Well-Dressed Woman* (New York; Fowler & Wells co., 1893) p. 5. <https://archive.org/details/welldressedwoman00ecob> [accessed 24 May 2016].

³⁷ Ecob, *The Well-Dressed Woman*, p. 6.

were included alongside ones for knickerbockers and the issue was addressed editorially with large numbers of pieces addressing the issue of what women should wear. In 1894 alone, the term 'rational dress' was mentioned seven times concluding with an article in December which outlined a meeting of the anti-corset league. This piece was openly in support of the league, normalising this standpoint, but did take pains to point out to readers that the women involved in this league were not a 'loud aggressive woman, even a kind of monster'.³⁸ The article infers that the caricatures of rational dress wearers, for instance those found in titles such as *Punch*, perhaps did exist, but were certainly not present in this particular league. The *Signal* was in support of rational dress reform and certainly addressed the issue many times. Yet, the WTAU did not. It is perhaps indicative of the Union's desire to balance progressive and controversial issues. In not including these advertisements and addressing the issue, the Union would have avoided potential controversy in their foundational period.

However, the company responsible for the pantaloons continued to advertise other products in *Wings*, namely their knitted corset, and as demonstrated above, other corset adverts were included. At first glance, the WTAU seemed to encourage corset wearing. Yet, after September 1894, no further adverts for corsets appeared in *Wings* and corsetry was not considered editorially. Digitisation of the magazine ends in 1900 and no further content appeared up to this date. The debate around corsetry was growing, and other journals continued to carry these advertisements, therefore this omission is curious. However, no content was included in favour of rational dress reform, and so it would be reckless to assign support of this. Rather, this chapter suggests that the WTAU overlooked potentially controversial issues more widely, undertaking a balancing act. Perhaps this controversial issue was avoided in favour of preserving a cohesive readership and Union. The female body was

³⁸ *Woman's Signal*, 6 December 1894, p. 363.

extremely problematic in the late century, as it was the place of potential liberation but also implicit control and weakness.

Health

Whilst it may be expected that a temperance magazine would focus on the health benefits of temperance, the majority of health-focused advertisements were not related to the evils of drink. The advertisement for Dr Rooke's solar elixir and oriental pills included on the page at the outset of the chapter stated that this particular product would help with a wide variety of ailments including indigestion, gout and even 'any disease of the nervous system'.³⁹ It indicated the role of the woman reader as responsible for both her own and her family's health.

Advertisements for general health tonics included Beecham's Pills, cures for wind, and general cough and cold remedies.⁴⁰ The large number of health aids and tonics, designed to alleviate general complaints, demonstrate an assumed feminine weakness and a tendency to succumb to illness. Women were constructed in a position of weakness. This is reinforced by Beetham who argues that advertisers asserted that 'the female body could only be cured, rendered beautiful, and freed from unwanted elements ... through the consumption of their products'.⁴¹ In including medical advertisements *Wings* reinforced the notion that women were weak and required support. One advert attempted to alleviate this and 'strongly recommended' a health resort to women readers needing 'rest and pleasant, healthful change'.⁴² In visiting this resort, women readers would be able to overcome any illnesses affecting them. Women were consistently constructed as weak, as in need of aids to health, and yet also in some instances, as being an authority and able to control the health of her wider family.

³⁹ *Wings*, January 1894, p. vi.

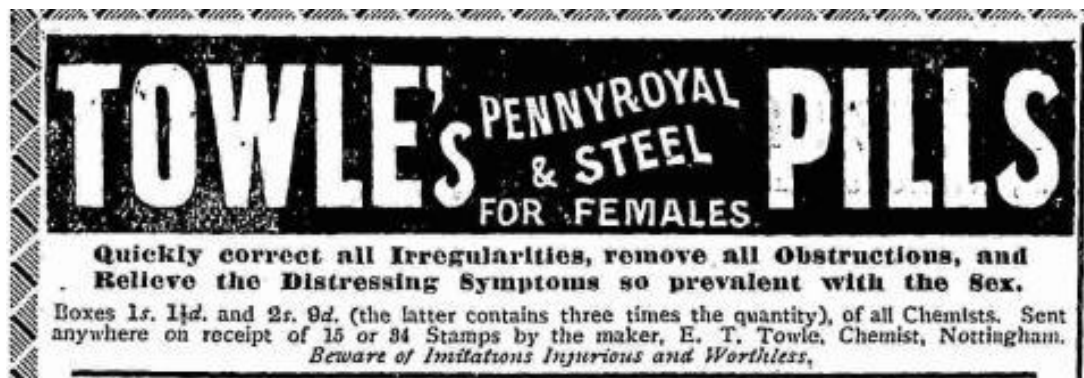
⁴⁰ Beecham's, *Wings*, January 1894, p. ii; Woodcock's Wind Pills, *Wings*, Oct 1894, p. iv; Hayman's Balsalm, *Wings*, January 1894, p. ii.

⁴¹ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 145.

⁴² *Wings*, April 1894, p. iv.

This issue of control over health can be illustrated through another advertisement included on the page pictured at the outset of this chapter. Towle's Pennyroyal and Steel Pills indicated that they would 'quickly correct all irregularities, remove all obstructions, and relieve the distressing symptoms so prevalent with the sex'.⁴³

Fig 3.5 - Advert for Towle's Pennyroyal and Steel Pills, *Wings*, January 1894.



This advert seems to suggest that the very state of womanhood was inconvenient, painful and difficult. Lionel Rose asserts that 'everyone knew' that 'remedies for menstrual disorders, "female ailments", "irregularities of the system" and the like' were 'thinly (but legally) disguised abortifacients'.⁴⁴ Angus McLaren supports this, stating that 'obstructions' was 'a code word for unwanted fetuses'.⁴⁵ In spite of the assertions by Rose and McLaren, it is impossible to know whether women, and the Union, knew the true purpose of this remedy. Yet, their care around vetoing advertisements which were potentially controversial or problematic, is strangely not repeated here. These adverts were included throughout 1894, into 1895, and beyond.⁴⁶ The construction here of women as weak, sickly and needing assistance

⁴³ *Wings*, January 1894, p. vi.

⁴⁴ Lionel Rose, *Massacre of the Innocents: Infanticide in Great Britain 1800 - 1939* (London: Routledge, 1986), p. 86.

⁴⁵ Angus McLaren, *A Prescription for Murder: The Victorian Serial Killings of Dr. Thomas Neill Cream* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), p. 76.

⁴⁶ *Wings*, January to November 1894; February to November 1895; May 1897.

to undertake their natural role is at odds with access to an abortifacient. Rather this is an indicator of feminine agency and bodily control.

Women were authority figures, in control of their own health, and that of their family, and also weak creatures who needed aids to health. This juxtaposition, between women as sources of authority but also as having inherent weaknesses, is characteristic of wider gender debates at the end of the nineteenth century. Women had to be taught about issues of health and hygiene. An advertisement was included in *Wings* in September 1894 for a series of medical and hygienic lectures, aimed at women only, focused on female 'physical structure, health and disease'.⁴⁷ These were designed to teach women about their own bodies, once again, situating them as in control. This practice of health education was not uncommon and manuals were written for this very purpose.

One such title was *A Book for Married Women*.⁴⁸ This book was initially published in 1894 by Dr T. R. Allinson before he changed its name to a *Book for Ladies*.⁴⁹ Allinson himself, and his book, were both notorious. Allinson had already been struck off of the physician's register and after the release of his *Book for Married Women* he was 'hauled before the courts and fined for sending indecent material through the post'.⁵⁰ Liggins asserts that this book included advice about pregnancy, child-rearing and, most controversially, contraception, a taboo subject.⁵¹ However, Allinson's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* develops this further, asserting it was a 'birth-control pamphlet' which 'argued that it was individually and socially wrong for too many children to be born'.⁵² This extremely controversial text

⁴⁷ *Wings*, September 1894. p. 127.

⁴⁸ Only 17 years earlier, *Fruits of Philosophy: A Treatise on the Population Question* was published by Annie Besant and Charles Bradlaugh. The authors argued that people should be able to limit the size of their family and provided information on birth control. This controversial text led to its authors being arrested and trialled for indecency.

⁴⁹ Dr T. R. Allinson, *A Book for Married Women* (London: F. Pitman, 1894).

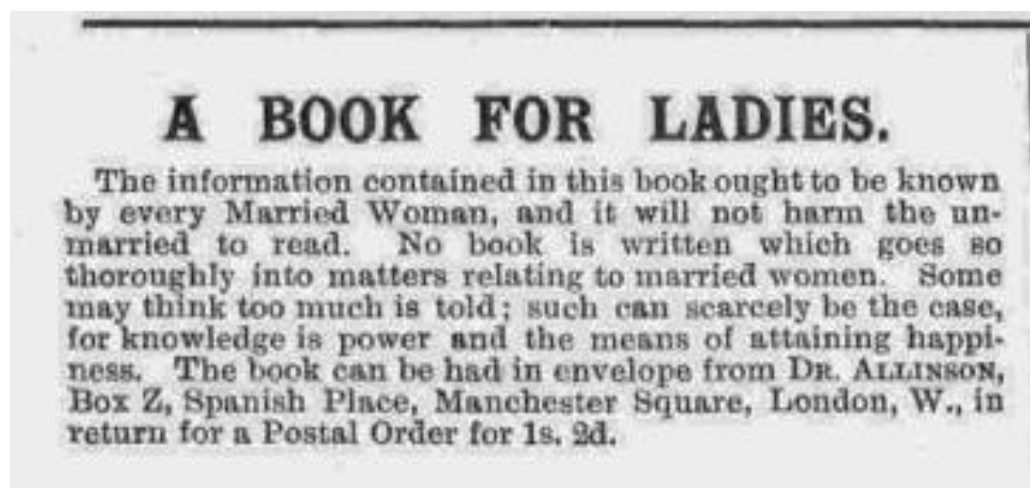
⁵⁰ *Marylebone Lives: Rogues, Romantics and Rebels - Character Studies of Locals since the Eighteenth Century.*, ed. by Mark Riddaway and Carl Upsall (London: Spira Press, 2015), p. 174.

⁵¹ Emma Liggins, 'Not an Ordinary "Ladies" Paper": Work, Motherhood, and Temperance Rhetoric in the Woman's Signal, 1894-1899', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 47.4 (2014), 613-30 (p. 625).

⁵² T. A. B. Corley, 'Thomas Richard Allinson', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/39188> [Accessed 09/08/2017].

came to the attention of the WTAU in February 1898 as the executive committee discussed 'an advertisement, collected by Miss Cruikshank of a *Book for Ladies* by Dr T. R. Allinson, of which a copy was in the room.'⁵³ The executive committee strongly objected to this advertisement and 'Miss C [was] informed that it must not appear in *Wings*.'⁵⁴ The advert was not included in *Wings* at any point, demonstrating the concerns and caution of the WTAU over respectability and potentially controversial subjects. It is noteworthy though, that this advert was included in the *Signal*, from 1896 to 1899, under the title *A Book for Ladies*.

Fig 3.6 - Advertisement of *A Book for Ladies* in the *Woman's Signal*, June 1896.⁵⁵



The inclusion of the advertisement in the *Signal* suggests that Florence Fenwick Miller, the editor, was less concerned about conventional respectability than women's emancipation. It is of note that as with the WTAU, Fenwick Miller had control over which adverts were printed in the paper. Throughout 1896 and 1897, when the advert above was included in the *Signal*, a column was also included which outlined the terms of advertising in the journal and stated 'we reserve the right to refuse any

⁵³ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1898.

⁵⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1898.

⁵⁵ *The Woman's Signal*, 11 June 1896, p. 380.

advertisement without giving a reason'.⁵⁶ Fenwick Miller choose to include the controversial advert even though she could have refused this.

Yet, the advert did not only appear in titles aimed specifically at women. It also appeared in several publications throughout 1896 to 1900, including *Pick-me-up*, *The Illustrated Police News*, *The Newcastle Weekly Courant*, *The Sporting Mirror and Dramatic and Music Hall Record*, *The Illustrated London News*, and *The Ipswich Journal*. The advertisement in *The Ipswich Journal* in July 1898 was an expanded version and can be seen in its entirety below.

Fig 3.7 - Advertisement of *A Book for Ladies* in *The Ipswich Journal*, July 1898.⁵⁷

A BOOK FOR LADIES.

The information contained in this book ought to be known by every married woman, and it will not harm the unmarried to read. The book is conveniently divided into twelve chapters. The first chapter treats of the changes at puberty, or when a girl becomes a woman. The second chapter treats of marriage from a doctor's standpoint; points out the best age for marriage and who should have children and who not, and furnishes useful information that one can ordinarily get only from an intelligent doctor. The third chapter treats of the marriage of blood relations; and condemns such marriages as a rule. Chapter four treats of the signs of pregnancy. The fifth chapter tells how a woman should live during the pregnant state. The sixth chapter treats of mishaps and how to avoid them. The seventh chapter treats of maternal impressions, and shows that birth-marks are not due to longings on the part of the mother, but rather to her poor health. The eighth chapter teaches how to have easy confinements. Certain people believe that women should bring forth in pain and trouble, but the hygienic physician says that confinements can be made comparatively easy if certain rules are obeyed; these rules are given. The ninth chapter treats of the proper management of confinement until the baby is born. The tenth chapter tells how to treat the mother until she is up and about again. The eleventh chapter treats of sterility; gives the main causes of it, how these may be overcome, and children result. The last chapter treats of the "change," a most important article for all women over forty. The book is full of useful information, and no book is written which goes so thoroughly into matters relating to married women. Some may think too much is told; such can scarcely be the case, for knowledge is power and the means of attaining happiness. The book can be had in envelope from Dr. T. R. Allinson, 1 Box, 4, Spanish Place, Manchester Square, London, W., in return for a Postal Order for 1s. 2d.

⁵⁶ *The Woman's Signal*, 11 June 1896, p. 380.

⁵⁷ *The Ipswich Journal*, July 1898 p. 2

The content of the book is outlined in detail in this longer advert and it is clearly concerned with female experience from puberty to menopause. Mark Riddaway and Carl Upsall assert that chapter six, which ‘treats of mishaps and how to avoid them’, dealt with birth control.⁵⁸ In examining the text itself, chapter six was titled ‘miscarriages’, although Allinson referred to ‘mishaps’ throughout. Interestingly though, the chapter does not overtly consider methods of abortion, rather discussion is couched as how to avoid mishaps, with an entire section on their prevention. Allinson suggested that:

To avoid mishaps women should be quiet about the time the menses are due, avoid intercourse then, and keep from much heavy lifting, straining, reaching, and much fatigue. Gentle exercise may be taken daily, but nothing violent must be attempted. Tea, coffee, drugs, purgatives, and operations must be avoided, as these favour mishaps with some.⁵⁹

Of course, if a woman knew what caused ‘mishaps’ then she would be able to cause one if desired. Yet, the text does not explicitly discuss abortion as such, this is still couched in respectable terms. Allinson does consider birth control more widely stating that he sees no objection to ‘preventative measures’ to avoid pregnancy.⁶⁰ Yet, he does not explicitly state what these measures are, again only alluding to a contentious topic. Interestingly, although clearly controversial, Allinson’s text actually also promoted temperance as he stated that:

Ladies who daily take beer, wine, or spirits, act unwisely; and those who take gin at the periods to relieve pain are doing wrong. The gin

⁵⁸ Riddaway and Upsall, p. 174.

⁵⁹ Dr T. R. Allinson, *A Book for Married Women* (London: F. Pitman, 1894), p. 32.

⁶⁰ Dr T. R. Allinson, *A Book for Married Women* (London: F. Pitman, 1894), p. 11.

often fails to relieve, or its use may lead a woman into habits of intemperance.⁶¹

In spite of this small promotion of temperance, the advert was never included in *Wings*, demonstrating a concern over the material more broadly. The executive committee took an active interest in advertised content and, on this occasion, vetoed the advert. The balancing act between progressive and conservative is apparent. Roy Church asserts that advertisements within the periodical press were 'an index of respectability'.⁶² Indeed, this was a view held within the nineteenth-century periodical press itself. An 1886 article in the *Pall Mall Gazette* conducted an interview with the proprietor of the *Illustrated Police News*, which had recently been awarded the accolade of 'the worst English Newspaper'. The *Pall Mall Gazette* wished to consider whether this was truly the case and in the course of their interview stated that any impression of the paper was 'scarcely strengthened when our glance is extended to the advertisement columns'.⁶³ While adverts for prestigious brands and establishments reflected well on a paper's character, the decision to carry more risqué notices was indicative of a lack of respectability. The inclusion of individual advertisements influenced the reputation of a title. It is perhaps for this reason that the WTAU executive committee took an interest in advertisements. They were concerned about the image of their journal, and by extension, the group it represented.

Financial authority

An advertisement for Birkbeck Bank forms part of the page included at the outset of this chapter.⁶⁴ This advert provided information to women readers on interest rates on deposits, current accounts and even advice on how to purchase a house or plot of

⁶¹ Dr T. R. Allinson, *A Book for Married Women* (London: F. Pitman, 1894), p. 8.

⁶² Roy Church, 'Consumer Goods in Nineteenth Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *The Economic History Review*, new series, 53.4 (2000), 621-45 (p. 633).

⁶³ *Pall Mall Gazette*, 23 November 1886, p. 1-2.

⁶⁴ *Wings*, January 1894, p. vi.

land. An advertisement for the United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution was also included in 1894. This organisation provided life assurance and annuities for all, but offered beneficial rates for total abstainers.⁶⁵ Through a growing number of adverts in the periodical press, women were increasingly constructed as potentially powerful consumers. As outlined at the start of this chapter, women already had some financial control over their home as they were conventionally expected to be assigned an amount by their husband to oversee the domestic realm. Indeed, a domestic manual from 1893 by Mrs Panton assigns an entire chapter to the issue of 'meals and money', asserting that a 'sensible woman' would keep financial details in the background, away from the concern of her husband.⁶⁶ Yet, the advertisements detailed above assumed a greater level of financial authority than control of household costs. It is of note that there was no mention in these advertisements of male or female purchasers. Of course, it may be that these adverts were run across other titles and not specifically aimed at the audience of *Wings*. These products advertised may not have been accessible to women and they would not be able to take out such products themselves. However, in their inclusion alone, women readers were able to access a greater understanding of financial information. As a result, they would potentially be able to influence the financial decisions of her husband and exert power by proxy. For some women though, perhaps single or without a husband, these advertisements were potentially encouraging female financial authority and control over their own affairs.

This positioning of women as financial authorities can be seen in an article from August 1900 as *Wings* readers were taught 'How to keep our books'.⁶⁷ In their position as domestic manager, middle-class women would have required some financial skill in keeping home budgets, but this article went beyond this level of skill.

⁶⁵ *Wings*, March 1894, p. iii.

⁶⁶ Panton, p. 37.

⁶⁷ *Wings*, August 1900, p. 111-2.

It initially advised readers how to keep minute and roll books, interestingly recording date, membership number, name, residence, marital status and additional remarks. Women were at this point still defined by marital status and the WTAU adhered to this tradition, observing dominant gender ideologies. However, the article went on to teach women how to keep financial records associated with their subdivision. A high level of detail was provided to women as branch treasurers were advised that they needed both a subscription and account book with instructions given on exactly how to lay out their books, how many columns were needed, and what to record in each one. Through advertisements and articles in *Wings*, the Union constructed its women readers as financial authorities.

Fascinatingly though, the layout of the page included at the start of this chapter neatly demonstrates the complexity of gender construction. Adverts for financial products were situated alongside ones for Towle's and Dr Rooke's pills, concerned with female health, the Thomson's corset, concerned with the female reader's appearance and bodily representation, and a large number of domestic products including Robinson and Cleaver linen, and 'curtains for the present season'.⁶⁸ Women were situated within the domestic sphere as domestic managers, and wives and mothers and were expected to have low levels of financial control as household managers. Yet through this single page of advertisements, they were also constructed as potentially in control of their own financial affairs, with financial skills and in having authority over health with bodily agency.

Advertising Temperance

The page of advertisements analysed demonstrates a complex construction but remarkably does not include material directly related to temperance. Although not on the included page, the Union did include advertisements on this topic. As they had

⁶⁸ *Wings*, January 1894, p. vi.

asserted their desire to focus on temperance alone, it would be expected that in the first year, this was reflected in advertisements within the journal. Temperance advertisements were included but these were kept overwhelmingly to one page. In terms of proportion, temperance adverts were outnumbered by ones related to domestic concerns, food, and health, and equalled the number related to appearance. Only adverts related to financial matters were fewer in number.⁶⁹ The temperance adverts that were carried throughout 1894 can be separated into two categories: firstly, ones concerned with temperance outside of the Union, used to raise awareness and to build networks and relationships, and secondly, ones which reinforced Union ideals and fashioned readers/members as temperance women, firmly attached to the WTAU.

Within the first category, advertisements were primarily for temperance products such as non-alcoholic drinks, temperance hotels, and temperance literature.⁷⁰ These would have raised product awareness as well as building networks and relationships within the movement. This can also be seen in the Union advertising themselves, their journal, and activities, discussed at the outset of this chapter. In January 1894, the reverse was true as the Union advertised products of another temperance group. An advertisement was included in *Wings* for the *National Temperance League Annual* where contents included 'a temperance survey of the year', 'temperance in schools and colleges', 'life insurance and inebriety', and 'lunacy statistics of Great Britain'.⁷¹ This inclusion is not unexpected. The group were a national temperance group and the content was specifically focused on temperance. But it does signify a desire of the Union to be affiliated with the wider temperance movement and to take part in broader reform work. After the split, and with an

⁶⁹ In *Wings* in January 1894, there was one advert related to finance, five each related to food, appearance and temperance, seven related to domestic concerns, and eight related to health.

⁷⁰ Example: Temperance hotel directory, *Wings*, January 1894, p. 14; Public meeting advert, *Wings*, March 1894, p. iv; Temperance publications, *Wings*, March 1894, p. iv; Mason's non-intoxicating beer, *Wings*, April, p. 0; Montserrat lime juice, *Wings*, April 1894, p. ii; Temperance publications, *Wings*, August 1894, p. 112; Curwen's temperance music, *Wings*, November 1894, p. i; Unfermented wines, *Wings*, November 1894, p. iii.

⁷¹ *Wings*, January 1894, p. iii.

unknown future, they would not want to jeopardise their place within the movement, therefore, in addition to rejecting advertisements due to concerns around respectability, they also rejected those which were questionably temperate.

In December 1897, a letter was read to the executive committee from the Yorkshire branch of the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) 'relative to the advert in *Wings* for port wine and bark'.⁷² The Yorkshire organisation likely assumed that this advert was for a product which contained alcohol. The committee asked Fanny Forsaith to respond and to point out to the Yorkshire WCTU that the advertisement 'plainly states that the wine is unfermented'.⁷³ As the letter came from the Yorkshire WCTU, a branch of the international organisation headed by Francis Willard, the WTAU took particular time to respond and point out the temperate nature of the product. The influence of the (W)WCTU was a potential reason for the schism and their 'do everything' policy was well known. The Union would have wanted to ensure that their given reason for the schism was known and thus choose to reinforce their temperance credentials. The Union took care to point out that the product was alcohol free, but they were perhaps concerned by this accusation as in February 1898, they also vetoed an advertisement for Vi-Cocoa, which never reappeared in *Wings*.⁷⁴ One of the last times the advert appeared, in December 1898, the advertisement showed that the product was made with 'Kola, Cocoa, Malt, and Hops'.⁷⁵ No reason was given for this withdrawal but, once again, it seems that this product could have been deemed to include intoxicating ingredients, namely malt and hops, thus ensuring its removal.

⁷² WTAU Executive Committee minutes, December 1897.

⁷³ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, December 1897.

⁷⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1898.

⁷⁵ *Wings*, December 1897, p. 171.

Fig 3.8 - Vi-Cocoa advertisement, *Wings*, December 1897.⁷⁶



The final time that Vi-Cocoa was advertised in *Wings*, a traditional advertisement appeared, similar to the one shown above, but, also, on the next page, an advertorial appeared for the very same product.

Fig 3.9 - Vi-Cocoa puff, *Wings*, February 1898.⁷⁷

SOMETHING FOR NOTHING.—When the proprietors of an article of consumption are prepared to send over 1,000,000 free sample tins to those who send a postcard it is fair to assume the vendors must themselves have a pretty good opinion of their specialité; and when in addition, they possess sufficient courage to “put up” £5,000 in hard cash to pay for postage of samples it must be evident they have satisfied themselves they possess a good thing, and that it is better to demonstrate practically at the breakfast table than to depend upon mere assurances by advertisement. Dr. Tibbles' Vi-Cocoa, Limited, 60, 61 and 62, Bunhill Row, London, E.C., are sending daily free sample tins of their special preparation to the public, and as a result the sales are going up by leaps and bounds. This style of advertising has the merit of honesty, and that the public appreciate it is shown by the statement that Dr. Tibbles' Vi-Cocoa can now be obtained from grocers, chemists, and stores everywhere, and the trade are unanimous in saying that no preparation of a similar character has ever given equal satisfaction to their customers. To obtain a tin it is only necessary to send a post-card, and the name of *WINGS* should be mentioned.

⁷⁶ *Wings*, December 1897, p. 171.

⁷⁷ *Wings*, February 1898, p. 28.

This inclusion was firmly in the style of an advertorial. It appeared to be an editorial piece and at first glance, nothing set this out as an advertisement. Terry Nevett considers these 'puffs' specifically, stating that they were adverts disguised as news items, and were 'the efforts of advertisers to obtain favourable editorial treatment for themselves and their products'.⁷⁸ In July 1897, when discussing the issue with Mr Cruikshank, the Union had been anxious to refrain from including advertisements on editorial pages but by early the following year, this practice was taking place. The income that advertisers brought meant they were increasingly able to exert influence over titles. Through the use of advertorial content they were able to blur the editorial / organisational voice and their own, and they were able to integrate themselves more closely with the readership.

This need to only advertise temperate products continued to be an issue for the Union. In 1905, the general committee spoke about *Wings* and considered an advertisement for a product called Liquozone. The product had been denied inclusion in *Wings* and subsequently 'paragraphs appeared in the newspapers which pointed to the ingredients being harmful'.⁷⁹ The Union was very concerned with this and 'a bottle of Liquozone was obtained, Mr W. N. Edwards kindly analysing the same. Mr Edwards said the medicine contained no alcohol but had other ingredients which would make him "careful not to take it"'.⁸⁰ This product was proven to have no alcohol in it, and yet the Union would not allow its inclusion in *Wings*. They sought legitimacy within the temperance movement and so they refused advertisements which may have jeopardised this in any way.

For the second category, advertisements encouraged women readers and members to fashion themselves as WTAU women. Not only could they be a member of the group, but they could display their temperance status through associated

⁷⁸ Terry Nevett, 'Advertising and Editorial Integrity in the Nineteenth Century', in *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, ed. by Michael Harris and Alan Lee (London: Acton Society Trust, 1986), pp. 149-67 (p. 149).

⁷⁹ WTAU General Committee minutes, November 1905.

⁸⁰ WTAU General Committee minutes, November 1905.

ephemera. *Wings* carried advertisements which encouraged readers to buy Union material.⁸¹ Of course, this would have ensured funds for the group, but would also have assisted in the creation of a cohesive community. Women would take pride in displaying both their temperate membership and their social conscience.

Fig 3.10 - List of badges, pledge books, cards and other requisites, *Wings*, August 1894.⁸²

LIST OF BADGES, PLEDGE BOOKS, CARDS,
AND OTHER REQUISITES
FOR
Women's Total Abstinence Societies,
ON SALE AT THE OFFICES OF THE
WOMEN'S TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION,
57 & 59 LUDGATE HILL, LONDON, E.C.

W.T.A.U. BADGE AS BROOCH OR PENDANT. Price 1s. each,
or 10s. per doz. Or as

SOLITAIRE CUFF-STUDS, 2s. 6d. per pair.

W.T.A.U. MEMBERSHIP CARD, 8 × 6½ inches. Price 1d. each, 1s. doz.,
3s. 3d. per 50, post 4½d. extra; or 6s. 6d. per 100, post 6d. extra.

W.T.A.U. PLEDGE CARD, 6 × 4½ inches. Price 3s. per 100, post free 3s. 4½d.

W.T.A.U. PLEDGE BOOK, with 50 forms. Price 3d. each. With 16 forms.
Price 1d. each.

W.T.A.U. RECEIPT BOOKS, with 100 forms. Price 6d. each, postage 1½d.
extra.

LEAFLETS: "Objects of the W.T.A.U." and "How to Form a W.T.A.S.," envelope
size. Price 1s. per 100, post free 1s. 2d.

NOW IN THE PRESS.

PRACTICAL HINTS FOR WOMEN'S TOTAL ABSTINENCE
SOCIETIES. An 8-page leaflet, containing suggested Rules and Duties of Officers. Price 1d., or 3s. per 100.

PUBLICATIONS OF THE
WOMEN'S TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION PUBLISHING CO., LIM.,
OFFICES: 57 & 59 LUDGATE HILL, LONDON, E.C.

"WINGS," with which is incorporated the *B.W.T.A. Journal*. The Official Organ
of the Women's Total Abstinence Union. Monthly 1d., or 1s. 6d. per annum, post free.

"WINGS"—Bound Vol. October 1892 to December 1893. Plain cloth, price 2s. 6d.
each nett. A few copies only.

W.T.A.U. AND ITS PROGRAMME OF WORK. By Miss M. E.
Docwra. Price 1d., or 6s. per 100, post 7½d. extra.

HELPS IN SICKNESS. A Pocket Card of Homely Remedies. Price 6d. per
dozen, or 3s. 6d. per 100. Postage extra.

A SCENT OF WHITE VIOLETS. A Prize Tale. By DENNIS REA. Stiff
crocodile paper cover, in blue and cream. Price 1s.

This striking Temperance Story, which appeared in *Wings*, is now published in Book form by The Women's Total Abstinence Union
Publishing Co., 57 and 59 Ludgate Hill, E.C.

OUR NATIONAL HABIT. Notes of a Speech delivered at the Annual Public
Meeting of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, May 10, 1894. By A. PEARCE GOULD, Esq., F.R.C.S. Price 1s. 3d. per 100.

HOW TO SECURE THE ABOLITION OF GROCERS' LICENSES.
By MISS M. E. DOCWRA.
Paper read at the Annual Conference of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, May 11, 1894.
Price One Halfpenny each, or 3s. 6d. per 100.

THE WOMEN'S TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION PUBLISHING CO., 57 & 59 Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Readers were encouraged to fashion themselves firmly in the shape of a 'WTAU woman'. Members could purchase brooches, cuff-studs, membership cards, pledge

⁸¹ Example - A Scent of White Violets, *Wings*, May 1894, p. 70; WTAU badge, brooch or pendant, *Wings*, May 1894, p. 70; List of badges, pledge books, cards, *Wings*, August 1894, p. vi; WTAU programme of meetings, *Wings*, December 1894, p. vi.

⁸² *Wings*, August 1894, p. vi;

cards and books, as well as publications, pendants, badges, and bound copies of *Wings*. Notices were included of upcoming meetings and available publications, including 'WTA Union and its programme of work', 'objects of the WTAU', and 'how to form a WTAS'.⁸³ Readers were increasingly able to identify as a WTAU woman. The Union maintained that the split was due to a desire to focus solely on temperance, and the Union did include advertisements for temperance material, both within and outside of their group. However overall, these were fewer in number than advertisements concerned with wider constructions of femininity.

1899 - Advertising Temperance

Although 1894 was the first year the Union was solely in control of the journal, they were not fully established. This process would continue for the rest of the century and beyond. Therefore, to only examine a snapshot of the advertising in *Wings* is disingenuous. By the end of the century, advertising in the journal had changed. Largely, items advertised now fell into six categories: WTAU literature and ephemera; temperance material, literature and events; literature and events which were not specifically temperance focused; homeware; food and drink; and financial institutions.⁸⁴ The construction of women readers is largely the same, however, notably, no adverts were concerned with female appearance and/or health tonics/remedies. Rather, in their place were many more temperance-related items.

By the turn of the century, the WTAU were positioning themselves as serious temperance workers to a much larger extent. Although pages like the one included at the outset of this chapter still existed in *Wings*, there were now pages solely dedicated to temperance-related advertising.

⁸³ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 63.

⁸⁴ WTAU literature and ephemera - WTAU meetings, badges, brooches, pledge cards, membership cards. Temperance material, literature and events - Temperance hotels; temperance literature; Band of Hope Chronicle. Literature and events (not specifically temperance focussed) - *Nursing Record* magazine; scientific lectures; *Thrilling Life Stories*; *The Friend* magazine. Homeware - China/glassware; curtains; house furnishings; pottery. Food and drink - Rowntree's cocoa; Chivers jelly; beef bouillon; non-fermented wine; pea flour; Epps' cocoa; Cadbury's cocoa; soup tablets; alcohol-free tonic; grape juice; Montserrat lime juice; vegetable extract. Financial institutions - Birkbeck Bank; United Kingdom Temperance and General Provident Institution; Temperance Permanent Building Society.

Fig 3.11 - Advertisements, *Wings*, January 1899.⁸⁵

THE BAND OF HOPE CHRONICLE

A Monthly Magazine issued by the United Kingdom Band of Hope Union, for those interested in Juvenile Temperance work at Home and Abroad.

Containing Outline Addresses for every meeting in the year, New Music, Articles on Total Abstinence in relation to the Young, Tales, Facts, Anecdotes, Quotations, Reviews, Records of Progress, &c. Also occasional addresses and information dealing with the Anti-narcotic movement.

Each number during 1899 will contain four or five of the following

BAND OF HOPE ADDRESSES :-

Watchwords. Twelve Addresses with Blackboard Illustrations. By CASAR CAINE, F.R.G.S. (Author of "Marital Annals of the City of York," etc.)

Eye-Gate. Twelve Addresses for Junior Members with Blackboard Designs. By ARTHUR NAYLOR, (Late Grand Superintendent of Juvenile Templars, Eng.)

Talks with Senior Members. Twelve Addresses with Diagrams. By E. C. ROBINSON, M.A., LL.B.

The Family of the Jacks. Six Addresses by CHARLES WALKER.

Lessons from English History. Six Addresses by THOMAS FRICKER.

Four Chats on Smoking. By EDWARD ROYDS (Uncle Edward).

One Penny per month [postage, 3d.] Is. 6d. per ann. (net), post free.

Every Speaker should order the new book of

BLACKBOARD ADDRESSES

BY

W. N. EDWARDS, F.C.S.

Author of "The Beverages we Drink," "Medicated Wines and their Dangers," "Temperance Science Lessons," &c.

Crown 8vo. In Limp Cloth.

Price ONE SHILLING.

Ready early in January.

UNITED KINGDOM BAND OF HOPE UNION,

60, OLD BAILEY, LONDON E.C.

SUNDAY CLOSING SPECIAL CAMPAIGN.

President: HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTEBURY.

Treasurer: A. F. HILLS, Esq., D.L.

£5,000 REQUIRED to meet promise of £5,000.

All interested in securing a sober, sanctified Sabbath are invited to contribute to the fund now being raised.

Donations may be sent to the Treasurer, Memorial Hall, Farringdon Street, London, E.C., by whom they will be gratefully acknowledged.

By Order, CENTRAL EXECUTIVE.

FORTHCOMING SUNDAY CLOSING MEETINGS.

Jan. 13 to Feb. 15—Sheffield Sunday Closing Mission.

" 23—Sutherland Gardens Wesleyan, London. Rev. J. King-Pigot.

" 24—St. Andrew's Hall, Norwich. Belfast.

" 24—Institute Hall, Queen's Park, London. Rev. J. Lawson Forster, LL.B., D.D.

" 25—Paddington Chapel, London. Rev. J. Ossian Davies.

" 26—Percy Road Bible Christian Church, London. Rev. P. Cudmore. Dublin.

" 27—Victoria Hall, Beeklow Road, London.

" 28—Brondesbury Hall, London. W. B. Luke, Esq., J.P.

" 29—Ladbroke Hall, Notting Hill, London.

" 30—Leeds Town Hall.

" 31—Mechanics' Hall, Nottingham. Bishop of Southwell.

Feb. 6—Town Hall, Birmingham. Alderman R. Cameron, M.P.

" 7—St. John's Edgware Road, London.

" 13—Public Hall, Croydon.

Queen's Hall, Langham Place, London (Annual Festival London United Temperance Council).

" 14—Darlington. Rev. A. T. Guttery.

" 15—Barrow Hill Road Wesleyan Chapel, London.

" 20—Lancaster Road Wesleyan Church, London.

" 20—Town Hall, Westminster, Bristol. Alderman W. Howell Davies, M.P. Rev. John Luke.

" 28—Bedford.

Mar. 1—Salisbury.

WOMEN'S TOTAL ABSTINENCE UNION.

NEW YEAR'S TEMPERANCE PRAYER MEETING

WILL BE HELD ON FRIDAY, JANUARY 13TH, 1899,

In the Friends' Meeting House, 52, St. Martin's Lane,

CHANCING CROSS ROAD, W.C.

Mrs. ARBUTHNOT, of East Grinstead, will Preside at 3 o'clock, and Mrs. WHITTAKER, of Wanstead, at 4 o'clock.

Mrs. SERVANTE, Mrs. CARUS WILSON, and others are expected to take part.

Friends of Temperance, Gentlemen as well as Ladies, are cordially invited to attend.

A SERIES OF SIX

SCIENTIFIC LECTURES

WILL BE GIVEN BY

MR. WALTER N. EDWARDS, F.C.S.,

AT THE

W.T.A.U. OFFICES, 4, LUDGATE HILL, E.C.

ON THE FOLLOWING

TUESDAY AFTERNOONS, FEB. 7, 14, 21, 28, MAR. 7, & 14

Fee for the Course of Six Lectures	...	2/6
Admission to a Single Lecture	...	6d.

For Syllabus and Tickets apply to the Secretary, W.T.A.U. Office, 4, Ludgate Hill, E.C.


Everyone interested in Nursing matters should read

THE NURSING RECORD.

[Edited by Mrs. BEDFORD FENWICK.]

Published every Saturday.

Contains all the Nursing News of the week; Articles by well-known Medical Men and Nurses;



Price One Penny.

Notes on Science, Art, Literature, and the Drama; Hospital News; Discussions by Matrons in Council, etc., etc., etc.

11, ADAM STREET, STRAND, W.C.

PLEASE MENTION "WINGS" WHEN ORDERING FROM ANY OF THESE ADVERTISEMENTS.

(20 DE 98)

⁸⁵ *Wings*, January 1899, p. 14.

Attracting advertisers was clearly still a concern to the Union as women were told to 'please mention *Wings* when ordering from any of these advertisements'. Yet, the placement of advertisements had also changed. In 1894, up to seven pages of advertisements appeared at the front of the journal, with two to three at the back. In 1899 however, only one page of advertisements now appeared at the front, compared to around four at the rear. By the end of the century, advertisements were also included throughout the journal, sometimes located alongside editorial material, and sometimes as a standalone page of advertisements. The desire of the Union earlier in the decade to keep advertising material to the outer pages was not maintained. By the end of the century, likely due to the influence of New Journalism and the financial income associated with advertising, material was included throughout the magazine.

Conclusion

Harrison asserts that attracting advertisers was a way in which pressure group periodicals attempted to minimise financial losses.⁸⁶ As *Wings* was indeed loss-making, advertising was clearly significant. It supported the finances of the journal. However, it should also be seen as assisting in the construction of readers. The Union did exert control over what advertisements were included and therefore the inclusion or exclusion of a particular advert can be seen as reinforcing a narrative created by the group themselves. Advertisements carried were indicative of reputation and the Union wished to be seen as respectable women, as serious temperance workers, and yet also could not ignore hegemonic gender construction.

Through the advertisements, women were indirectly advised that they must be concerned with their appearance and femininity. They were constructed as respectable middle-class women, adhering to the expectations of polite society. They were constructed as domestic creatures, mothers and wives who had some control

⁸⁶ Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', p. 281.

in the private sphere, but who also possessed intrinsic weaknesses. They and their bodies were weak and in need of support. Yet, the presence of adverts for abortifacients means that this picture is more complex than first appears. Here, in contrast, women were told that they were in control of their own bodily agency. Economically, readers were encouraged to be aware of financial issues and budgeting, and Loeb asserts that the angel was required to become 'a shrewd chancellor of the exchequer of the family purse'.⁸⁷ In *Wings* though this was taken further. Through the inclusion of financial adverts, there seems to be a suggestion that women had a level of financial skill and the ability to make fiscal decisions (or at least influence her husband in his decision making). However, although this construction is fascinating, it only demonstrates the reader the Union wished to attract. It does not provide any information about whether this readership was indeed attracted in reality, or what the real readership was like.

⁸⁷ Loeb, p. vii.

Chapter Four: Reader/Member: Constructions and Contradictions

Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfmann declare that in studying magazines of over a century ago it is vital 'to get a sense of the readership the magazine is trying to reach'.¹ However, due in part to the number and breadth of periodicals, alongside a lack, or loss of, circulation and subscription lists, this remains a key problem of periodical research. In her seminal work *A Magazine of Her Own*, Beetham discusses a 'dearth of information' concerning magazine readers and warns of the danger of assuming the reader from the text.² For many journals, a consideration of this implied reader, constructed using the content and context of the magazine in question, is often the only option. Yet, when examining a periodical such as *Wings*, it is possible to consider this question from new angles. Harrison asserts that the 'nineteenth-century pressure-group periodical' has not 'so far been systematically explored'.³ However, much work has been undertaken since this statement and frequently, due to the presence of associated material, such as minutes and committee reports, work can be undertaken to uncover details about the wider membership. For the Women's Total Abstinence Union, *Wings* can be cross-referenced with annual reports, committee meeting minutes and associated ephemera to build a broader, more detailed picture of the Union and the periodical itself.

This chapter uses the three layered methodology outlined at the outset to explore women of the Union. It builds on the previous chapter and takes a broad picture, using census data to examine inconsistencies between a sample of Union women and the implied readership created by the journal. It must be noted at the outset though that full membership lists for the Union are not available. Instead, this chapter uses the details of Union branch presidents and secretaries from around the country, whose names and addresses were recorded in the annual reports. These

¹ Robert Scholes and Clifford Wulfman, *Modernism in the Magazines* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) p. 145.

² Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 11.

³ Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', p. 276.

details were also recorded for each member of both the national executive and general committees. In the 1893-4 annual report, the first of the Union, the names and addresses of 202 women were listed. Some women did not provide a home address but rather were listed with office addresses of the branch or central offices of the Union and so these were discounted. Several were duplicated as being members of both the general or executive committee and the president or secretary of a local branch; these repetitions were also discounted. The remaining names and addresses were searched in census records from 1891 and the details of 90 individuals were found. Most of these were definite matches, with the exact name and address from the annual report corresponding with the data on the census, whilst several were deemed very likely matches and included. In these instances, an unusual name in a small location was included as it is more probable that a change of address had occurred than that multiple women with that name existed.

Census research is notoriously difficult. Edward Higgs has considered the issue at length, outlining difficulties with the initial recording of data, by either householders or enumerators, and its subsequent (re)classification by census clerks.⁴ He considers this is a particular issue for the recording of women's work and states that 'some enumerators appear to have been less willing than others to regard the work of women as an 'occupation''.⁵ Elizabeth Roberts also considers the problems of census research, concluding that women's work in the census was 'grossly underenumerated'.⁶ Even when census data was more 'factual' in nature, and not subject to amendments, other difficulties remain. The census is a snapshot at a particular moment in time, not indicative of a constant situation. The census only records people present in the home on that particular night, particularly problematic

⁴ See Edward Higgs, *A Clearer Sense of the Census*, Public Record Office Handbooks, 28 (London: Her Majesty's Stationary Office, 1996); Edward Higgs and Amanda Wilkinson, 'Women, Occupations and Work in the Victorian Censuses Revisited', *History Workshop Journal*, 2016, 17–38.

⁵ Higgs, p. 99.

⁶ Elizabeth Roberts, *Women's Work 1840-1940*, Studies in Economic and Social History (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1988), p. 18.

for research concerning children or domestic help. Children may not have been resident in the home, either resident in an educational facility or as simply having grown up and left the familial home. When considering domestic help, the census only provides information on live-in servants, not levels of domestic help more generally. Yet, even with its difficulties, research such as this can provide valuable information on the everyday lives of some Victorian women.

There are three significant issues in using officer details for the WTAU in place of actual readership or subscription lists for *Wings*. Firstly, although members of the Union, the women listed may not have been readers of the magazine. However, this seems unlikely. The Union constantly encouraged its members to read *Wings* and to help secure additional readers, so it seems probable that the women listed as WTAU members would have read and/or subscribed to *Wings*. At the very least, the magazine was *intended* to be read by this community. Secondly, the reverse may be true and readers of the title may not have been members of the Union. As chapter two explores, while the distribution of *Wings* meant that it was theoretically available to the general public, it seems most likely that the core readership would be members of the Union. It was the official organ of the Union and made much of this. Thirdly and finally, as the branch president and secretary, or committee member of the Union, it must be noted that the position these women enjoyed within the Union may well have made them atypical of its wider membership or, more broadly, the readership of *Wings*. The very status of office confers a level of involvement and importance not assigned to the average reader. They were active, senior members and may have had a different social or economic background than more junior or passive members of the Union. It is not assumed, in other words, that they represent a complete picture of the magazine's 'real' community of readers. However, given that scholars are often unable to access *any* personal details about a periodical's readership, it would be remiss to discount the available evidence completely. Despite its methodological

limitations, this data allows us to draw more nuanced conclusions about the ways in which *Wings* constructed its readership.

This chapter explores data available from the census; the age, marital status, number of children resident with them, number of live-in servants, and employment status of some women within the Union. It considers this data alongside *Wings*' editorial content in order to build a multi-faceted understanding of the journal and its likely readership. From the data analysis undertaken, a profile of a 'typical' WTAU woman has emerged.⁷ She:

- was 41.1 years old
- was married
- lived with her husband
- had 1.5 children
- had 1.7 servants
- had no listed employment

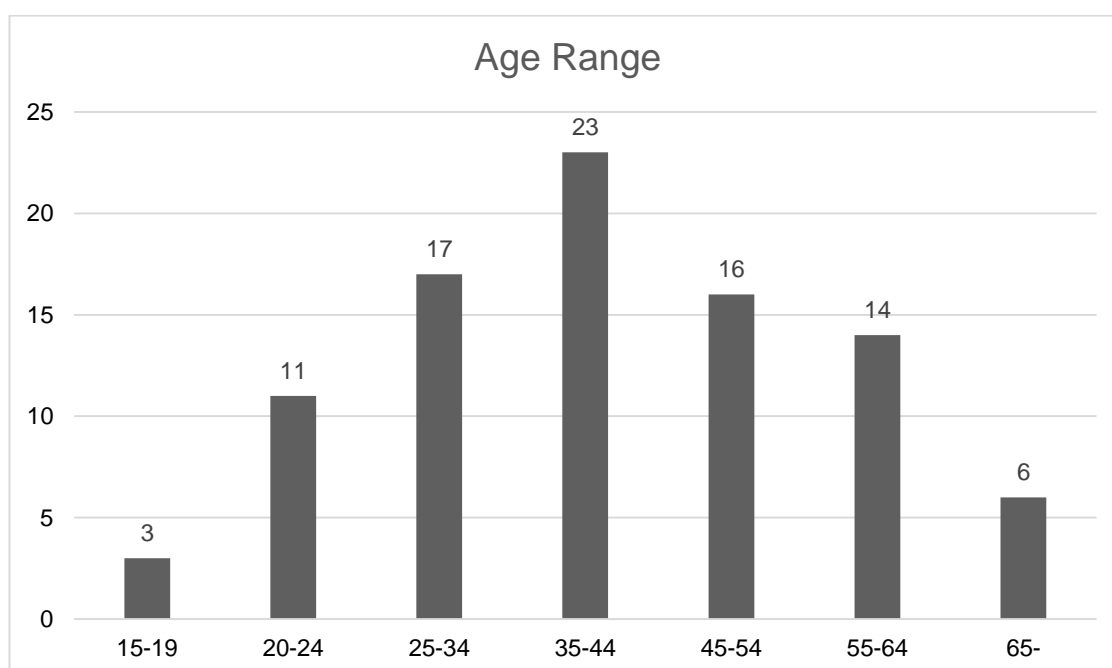
Although this 'typical' woman is fascinating, she does not demonstrate the complexity and nuance of membership. This data analysis forms the basis of discussion throughout the remainder of this chapter.

Age

The ages of the WTAU women located within the 1891 census ranged from 18 to 79 years old with a mean age of between 41 and 42 years. The youngest member was Miss Winifred Smith (18), secretary of the Bright Lucas branch in Bristol, whilst the oldest member was Mrs Sarah Coles (79), a widow and member of the WTAU Executive Committee.

⁷ The figures for the 'typical' woman are the mean figures of the 90 women located.

Fig 4.1 - Graph showing age range of Union women found in the census, 1891.



The sample located suggests that both young and old women participated in the Union. This is noteworthy in itself as Mattingly asserts that ‘younger women, by and large, may have seen the temperance movement as their mothers’ cause’.⁸ This holds for the mean age of the sample, and the largest age grouping (35-44), but it is complicated by relatively high numbers of younger women.

To ensure its survival, the Union needed to attract, address, and retain younger members. It did this by including material in *Wings* which was aimed directly at them, including a children’s column and a junior column. This was part of a broader expansion in children’s periodical literature as more than 500 titles aimed at children were founded between 1866 and 1914.⁹ This material was not necessarily segregated by gender and was frequently designed to appeal to all children. In many cases, writers emphasised expected behaviour and etiquette, and loaded their work with specific moral messages. The trope of temperance in children’s writing was not

⁸ Mattingly, p. 176.

⁹ Sian Pooley, ‘Children’s Writing and the Popular Press in England 1876-1914’, *History Workshop Journal*, 80.1 (2015), 75–98 (p. 77).

uncommon. For example, George Cruikshank re-wrote classic fairy tales including *Cinderella* and *Jack and the Beanstalk*, but ensured the stories had temperate significance to warn against the dangers of alcohol.¹⁰ Some material was overtly moralising and often not particularly successful but as the children's reading market became increasingly competitive some titles excelled. McAllister argues that *The Band of Hope Review and Sunday Scholar's Friend* (1851-1937) was founded 'as an engaging alternative to the moralising fare offered by early juvenile temperance periodicals'.¹¹ In turn she argues that *Onward* (1865-1910), the organ of the Lancashire and Cheshire Band of Hope Union, was even more successful. McAllister states that although religion remained a key part of the journal, *Onward* was not as overtly religious as other children's temperance journals.¹² The marketplace for juvenile reading continued to expand and although temperance material was successful, the juvenile market was extremely competitive. The most successful were the *Boy's Own Paper* (BOP, 1879-1967) and *Girl's Own Paper* (GOP, 1880-1956). Both were launched to provide wholesome, hegemonic reading material, but *GOP* was more successful.¹³ Although aimed at girls, *GOP* also included material aimed at young boys. Fraser et al discuss the inclusion of editorials addressed specifically to boy readers and state that the practice of boys entering competitions organised by the *GOP* was normalised.¹⁴

Although the specialised children's press had expanded, family titles had also begun to include content aimed specifically at children. Sian Pooley asserts that children's columns within adult or family magazines ensured that 'children gained a

¹⁰ George Cruikshank, *Fairy Library*, <http://www.bl.uk/collection-items/george-cruikshanks-fairy-library> [accessed 04/09/15]

¹¹ McAllister, 'Onward: How a Regional Temperance Magazine for Children Survived and Flourished in the Victorian Marketplace', p. 45.

¹² McAllister, 'Onward: How a Regional Temperance Magazine for Children Survived and Flourished in the Victorian Marketplace', p. 49.

¹³ For circulation figures see F Milton, 'Uncle Toby's Legacy: Children's Columns in the Provincial Newspaper Press, 1873 - 1914', *International Journal of Regional and Local Studies*, 5.1 (2009), 104-20; Christopher Mark Banham, 'Boy's Own Paper 1879 - 1967', ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), pp. 70-71 (pp. 70-71); Terri Doughty, 'Girl's Own Paper 1880 - 1956', ed. by Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism* (Gent: Academia Press, 2009), p. 249 (p. 249).

¹⁴ Fraser, Green, and Johnston, pp. 64-65.

new prominence as implied readers'.¹⁵ In *Wings*, the column 'for the children' began in 1892 and addressed both young boys and girls, evident in the address 'dear children', not 'dear girls'. The column reinforced temperate values whilst also teaching children to be moral, good and kind. Predominantly, content promoted traditional notions of gender, however, there were instances where this was challenged. In February 1894, the column told the story of a young girl, Elsie, and her nurse, caught in a house fire. The girl was told to remain where she was whilst the nurse attempted to find a way to safety. Subsequently, a fireman attempted to save Elsie, but she steadfastly remained where she was told to, in spite of the fireman's protestations that she must follow him. He retreated, the nurse returned, and Elsie was taken to safety by her nurse. At the end of the story, it became clear that the fireman's ladder was rotten and if Elsie had followed him then she would have been 'killed or at least seriously injured'.¹⁶ The female protagonist was unable to do anything for herself in this story, or remove herself from a position of danger, reinforcing traditional tropes. However, it is noteworthy that the column demonstrates an obedience to a female figure, the nurse, over the male. Here, the journal was more concerned with reinforcing obedience in its child readers, rather than gendered tropes.

Although clearly aimed at children, no age of expected readers for the column were given. It is likely though that it would be aimed at children aged up to around eight years old. After this point, young boys would be breeched and Tosh suggests that young boys became men, 'not only by jumping through a succession of hoops, but by cultivating the essential manly attributes; in a word *manliness*'.¹⁷ At this point, female influence would lessen for young boys, but not for girls who would remain in this sphere. The introduction of a 'junior sections' own column', in 1896, supports this hypothesis. It did not indicate a gendered reader and so it may be assumed that this

¹⁵ Pooley, p. 78.

¹⁶ *Wings*, February 1894, p. 27.

¹⁷ Tosh, p. 111.

was also aimed at both sexes, succeeding the children's column. However, the expected age of junior members was given as between 12 and 25 years.¹⁸ By this period, boys would certainly have been breeched, and likely away from home. Although men might well remain involved in temperance reform, it would be unlikely that this would be as a member of a female temperance group. The junior societies were intended to be female-only environments, mirroring the adult groups. This junior column ensured that young female members had a continued interest in *Wings*.¹⁹

The column rounded up events and meetings from around the country, creating a junior community of female members, as a subsection within the wider Union membership. The issue of gendered membership can also be seen in suggested activities for the junior groups. The annual report of 1895-6 suggested that work for the junior groups should be:

To provide vocal and instrumental music for meetings, arrange sales of work for WTAU, circulate *Wings*, and increase the sale of total abstinence literature, distribute handbills, arrange contests for singing, reciting, or essay writing, and special meetings for scientific temperance instruction. To assist the temperance hospital, temperance orphanage, and temperance home for women.²⁰

As boys left the readership, it appears that traditional gender notions were now reinforced. Suggested work was traditional and respectable. Yet, there is some evidence to suggest that junior female members were permitted more freedom with regard to traditional gender roles.

One federated junior society, Hoxton Girls' Guild, was led by Mrs Rae of Stamford Hill.²¹ Established in 1878 and intended to guide girls away from the temptations of alcohol, the group was deemed at the time to be 'progressive feminist

¹⁸ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union for the year 1895-6*. p. 89.

¹⁹ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union for the year 1895-6*. p. 24.

²⁰ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union for the year 1895-6*, p. 89.

²¹ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union for the year 1895-6*. p. 59.

work'.²² A report in *Wings* of the thirteenth anniversary of the group states that prizes were given out for 'needlework, wood carving, embroidery, bent iron work, drilling, instrumental music, good conduct, text painting, fretwork, writing and cookery'.²³ It is noteworthy that this list of activities undertaken by the Guild substantially differs from those activities suggested by the Union. Yet, the WTAU not only allowed this society federated status but it also enabled the spread of its work. In February 1896, the executive committee invited a short paper entitled 'Girls' Guild of Good Life, Hoxton' to be given at their annual conference by Mrs Rae.²⁴ The gendered construction of young women in the Union was complex. Young girls were not simply encouraged to undertake only temperance, seemingly respectable, reform work, but also to gain more unconventional skills such as ironwork and wood carving. Young women were constructed by the Union as undertaking respectable activities such as singing, playing music, and essay writing, but the activities of the Girls' Guild suggests that this was not necessarily the reality. The gendered construction of young women within the Union is complex and begins here to potentially push at the boundaries of respectable, middle-class femininity.

This is peculiar. The given reason for the schism in 1893, was that the Union only wished to undertake temperance reform. It is no coincidence that this was considered respectable, whilst other areas of the proposed 'do everything' policy were not. The Union was concerned with respectability. However, they also needed to be viable as a group. As Brian Harrison asserts, 'by the 1900s ... temperance reformers of all kinds were no longer *avant garde* among social reformers'.²⁵ Young women now were able to benefit from advances in female education and expanding opportunities for employment, and this chapter suggests that to ensure the ongoing viability of the Union, younger members were permitted some freedom with regard to traditional

²² Hoxton Hall, <https://www.hoxtonhall.co.uk/good-wives/#tabs1> [accessed 11/09/15]

²³ *Wings*, December 1898, p. 167.

²⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1896.

²⁵ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, pp. 404–5.

gender ideologies. The Union knew that this compromise was necessary for their success and they intended to:

Train up the junior members in such a way that by-and-bye they may be ready to help the work of the parent societies and of the Union, and to fill up the ranks as one by one of the older members are called away from the earthly to the heavenly service.²⁶

The move within *Wings* to include a junior societies' column is surely reflective of this desire to retain adolescent female readers and members. Although the construction of young women and girls is important, these younger members located in the sample were in a slight minority. Rather, once young women reached adulthood and began to consider traditional expectations such as marriage and children, a wider construction can be seen.

Marital Status

At the end of the nineteenth century, traditional gender ideology still dictated that marriage and children were the goal of womanhood. Patricia Branca states that marriage was still the normal pattern of life for most women.²⁷ This is consistent when examining the details of the Union women located. Of 90 women matched from WTAU records to census data, 47 were married, 33 were single and 10 were widowed. However, although useful, this does not differentiate by age. Census statistics from 1891 show the proportion of single, married and widowed women per 10,000 of the population.²⁸

²⁶ *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union for the year 1896-7*. p. 44.

²⁷ Branca, p. 3.

²⁸ Census of England and Wales, General report with summary tables and appendices, Vol. IV, 1891. p. 34. <http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/PageBrowser2?ResourceType=Census&SearchTerms=General%20report%20with%20summary%20tables%20and%20appendices&simple=yes&path=Results&active=yes&treestate=expandnew&titlepos=0&mno=68&tocstate=expandnew&display=sections&display=tables&display=pagetitles&pageseq=40>. Accessed via Histpop - The Online Historical Population Reports Website [Accessed 07/08/17]

Fig 4.2 - Proportions of single, married and widowed women at different age ranges, in 1891 census.

	Single		Married		Widowed	
	Figure	%	Figure	%	Figure	%
15-19	9805	98	194	2	1	0
20-24	7011	70	2962	30	27	0
25-34	3260	33	6526	65	214	2
35-44	1044	11	7607	81	749	8
45-54	1241	12	7059	71	1700	17
55-64	1102	11	5726	57	3172	32
65-	1075	12	3786	44	3789	44

These figures are somewhat skewed as young women and girls (aged 15-19) were less likely to be married. However, by a woman's mid-twenties this changed, as demonstrated by the enormous increase in married women from 20-24 at 30% to 25-34 at 65%. Branca asserts that 'on the whole, middle-class women married at age 25' which accounts for this large increase.²⁹ Indeed, she asserts that regardless of class, women generally married between 20 and 24.³⁰ For the women located in the Union sample however, this trend was more complex.

²⁹ Branca, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ Branca, pp. 4-5.

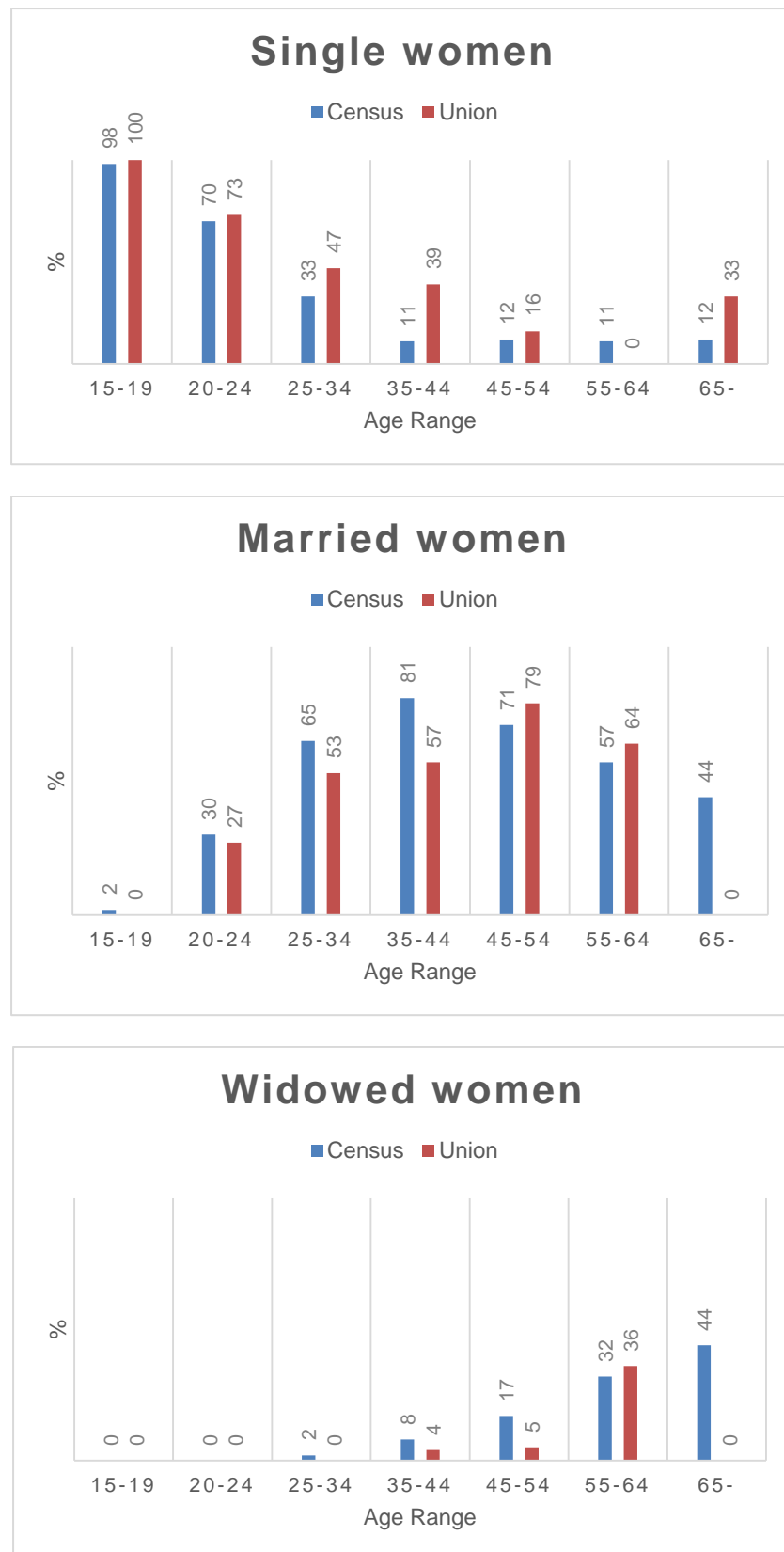
Fig 4.3 - Union women found in 1891 census, broken down by age range and marital status.

	Single		Married		Widowed	
	Figure	%	Figure	%	Figure	%
15-19	3	100	0	0	0	0
20-24	8	73	3	27	0	0
25-34	8	47	9	53	0	0
35-44	9	39	13	57	1	4
45-54	3	16	15	79	1	5
55-64	0	0	7	64	4	36
65-	2	33	0	0	4	67

It must be noted that the data available for the Union is of a much smaller scope and limited in comparison. The number of married women in the sample increased between the ranges 20-24 (27%) and 25-34 (53%) but, the proportion is smaller than in the wider 1891 census data. It may be that fewer Union women made the move to marriage at this stage of life, but due to the small sample size, this cannot be accurately extrapolated.

In order to undertake further analysis, the data from the two tables above has been charted below.

Fig 4.4 - Graphs comparing 1891 census data and Union women found in census, showing marital status broken down by age.



For single women, across all but one age range, there is a higher proportion of single women in the Union sample than in the general population. The reasons for this are unknown. It could be that single women were more likely to have time and energy to take part in reform work. It could be that joining a female-only organisation required a level of independence and that Union women and others working in reform were less traditionally minded and less likely to marry.

When comparing the data for married women, the figures are largely similar. However the largest difference is in the 35-44 age range where 57% of Union women located were married compared to 81% of the general population. Even from a small sample, this is a fairly significant difference. The proportion of married women in the Union sample was lower when compared to the census data and married women were less represented in the Union sample than within the wider populous. Indeed, even some of the 'married' women of the Union are subject to question as two of them were listed on the census as married but not living with their husband. Mrs Caroline Hardwick, president of the Suspension Bridge branch, and Mrs Anne Atherton, president of the Peaslake branch, were listed on the census as head of their household, despite being married. It is unclear whether their husbands were simply not resident at the address on the night of the census or whether they did not live with their husband. Higgs considers the difficulties of cases such as this; whether these were cases of separation, or whether these women considered themselves still married to dead husbands.³¹ Further examining the data, in these instances, both women were employed, as an artist and shop keeper respectively. It was unusual for married women to state their employment as in all but four of the entries for married women of the WTAU sample, this status is blank. It may be that these women were separated from their spouse and living alone/independently, but as this is speculation, they remain included in the data for married women.

³¹ Higgs, p. 78.

For widowed women the Union sample and wider census data differs significantly once again. There is a higher proportion of older widowed women in the Union sample than compared to the census data, reaching a peak in the over 65s at 67% in the Union sample and 44% in the wider census respectively. Here, it seems feasible that as women survived their husbands, and subsequently had more free time, they sought something to do in their later life. Reform work could have provided an outlet for those energies.

The sample located suggests that the majority of women of Union were indeed married, demonstrating a conformity to expectation. However, it is possible to use the sample further and consider the role of women in the WTAU, in relation to their marital status.

Fig 4.5 - Table showing Union women found in 1891 census, broken down by marital status and position held in the WTAU.

	Single	Married	Widow
Both President and Secretary			1
President	5	30	2
Secretary	24	16	2
Treasurer			1
Vice President	1		
(blank)	3	1	4
TOTAL	33	47	10

Of 47 married women located in the sample, 30 were presidents of their branch, whilst 16 married women held a position of secretary. In comparison, for the single women, only five held a presidency, one a vice-president position, and 24 a secretarial position. The status of the widowed women located was more ambiguous. Two were

listed as a branch president, two as branch secretary, and one as both president and secretary. The remaining member was the treasurer of the entire WTAU. Within the sample, a higher number of married women held a position of branch president and more single women were secretaries, a more junior role. The sample suggests that the position of Union women could have been affected by their marital status and married women given higher positions within the Union. As asserted at the outset of this section, marriage was the most likely prospect for nineteenth-century women, also reinforced through the content of *Wings*.

This expectation, alongside ideals of respectability, can be seen in a small article in *Wings* from March 1895 as the 'notes and comments' editorial section considered the issue of titles and address. A 'male friend' asked for guidance on how to reply to a letter from an unknown lady correspondent and whether this should be done using 'Mrs or Miss'. The article responded by stating that they used the term Mrs as 'least likely to give offence' but went on to state that 'our friend's fear of "the New Woman" made him doubtful of the expediency of this course'.³² The article then addressed the woman reader directly, stressing the importance of including titles in correspondence and advising that they should include 'in brackets before their signature, "Mrs" or "Miss"', as this would save 'a great amount of trouble'.³³ This article illustrates the importance attached to social etiquette but also demonstrates the importance of marital status to the Union. This question from their 'male friend' was included, showing its importance, but the Union then also suggested a solution, indirectly determining that women should be defined by their marital status.

Engagement and marriage notices were also placed within the pages of *Wings*. A notice from July 1903 advises readers of two weddings. The first contained a lengthy description of the bride's appearance as she 'wore ivory silk, trimmed with lace and orange blossom, a tulle veil, and wreath of orange blossoms. She was

³² *Wings*, March 1895, p. 36.

³³ *Wings*, March 1895, p. 36.

accompanied by four bridesmaids ... [and the reception was] attended by 150 guests.³⁴ The second was for a smaller wedding, but interestingly, as the bride received a gift from members of the Union, she asked that a letter be inserted into *Wings*, advising readers of her thanks. The letter stated that she enjoyed 'the beautiful present' of a tea and coffee service and that she was 'glad her [new] home is so near to London, and that marriage does not mean giving up work, but a new impetus and strength to carry it on'.³⁵ Prior to marriage, the bride had entered her profession as 'Hospital Nurse' but after marriage, she ceased to enter a profession in the census, instead leaving this blank. Yet, she, Mrs Morewood, did indeed remain an active member of the WTAU, undertaking work with the junior committees and also working on a committee concerned with the aftercare of inebriates.³⁶ There are two issues of interest here. Firstly, this woman gave up her profession as a nurse upon marriage. Secondly, by her own admission, she was still undertaking reform work. The absence of an occupation listed in the census suggests that she (or those around her) did not see this as a profession. Clearly, this is only one instance. However, of the married women located in census records, only four listed an occupation (as artist/decorator, milliner, dressmaker, and shopkeeper respectively). It seems that Union women were expected to marry, evidenced by *Wings* content, the status of women in the group, and indeed, wider societal expectations. Further though, the majority of those in the sample gave up any occupation upon doing so, if indeed, they had previously had one. However, notably, reform work was not classed as reform work as they were able to continue this, evidenced by their ongoing membership of the Union. In line with dominant Victorian gender ideology though, the primary role a woman was expected to fulfil after marriage was that of wife and mother.

³⁴ *Wings*, July 1903, p. 86.

³⁵ *Wings*, July 1903, p. 86.

³⁶ *Nineteenth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union for the year, 1911-12*, p. 27.

Motherhood

Judith Rowbotham asserts that 'the highest ambition for a good girl of any social class was to become a professional good wife and mother'.³⁷ A woman's role was assumed to be that of a wife and subsequently mother and, indeed, significant discourse surrounds this Victorian veneration of motherhood.³⁸ However, the actual picture is more complex. Philippa Levine considers the veneration of motherhood and states that the 'ideology and reality' were 'moving farther and farther apart' as the general demographic pattern from the 1870s onwards was towards a reduced family size.³⁹ Smaller numbers of women were having children and those who did had fewer. Yet, motherhood was still held as the identity to which all women should aim. Beetham states that 'motherhood was assumed both as grounds of identity and as an ideal to which the reader must constantly aspire'.⁴⁰ For women of the Union, this ideal was presented in the actions of the Union and in *Wings*, via articles and advertisements.

In 1908, a Babies League was created, similar to the other leagues discussed in chapter one. Babies could become members as long as the guardians of the child promised not to give them alcohol in any form, including for medical reasons. The league was created in January 1908 and by July had 35 branches and had created 2,300 membership cards.⁴¹ By the following year, one branch, Halifax, reported 70 members alone.⁴² At first glance, this may seem unusual. However, women of the Union would potentially have seen this as an extension of their own identity as a temperance worker, as well as proof of their maternal skill. As temperance women, they would have wanted their own children to be temperate and by enrolling them in a league this would be enforced and temperance taught from an early age. In addition,

³⁷ Rowbotham, p. 12.

³⁸ For discussion see Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*; Rowbotham; Vicinus, *Suffer and Be Still: Women in the Victorian Age*; Branca; Vicinus, *Independent Women*; Burstyn; Levine, *Victorian Feminism: 1850-1900*; Philippa Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990).

³⁹ Philippa Levine, *Feminist Lives in Victorian England: Private Roles and Public Commitment* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1990), p. 45.

⁴⁰ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 54.

⁴¹ WTAU General Committee minutes, July 1908.

⁴² WTAU General Committee minutes, July 1909.

membership of their children in this league could also have been seen as a sort of status symbol.

The presence of 'for the children' also shows that material was included to aid women with the temperate construction of their children. In addition, women were also appealed to as mothers in the journal itself. They were deemed responsible for all aspects of their child's life, entertainment, character, and health. A book of children's songs was advertised in December 1894 where women readers were told that it was 'exactly the thing for the children's hour on dark evenings'.⁴³ Women were responsible for the character of their children and providing them with wholesome entertainment. Yet, although this is one instance of children's wider lives being considered, most advertisements were directly concerned with children's health.

Although adverts constructed the woman reader as a wife and mother, she was indirectly told that she needed help to undertake this role. In November 1894, an advert for Mellin's food offered a free leaflet entitled 'an illustrated pamphlet on the feeding and rearing of infants'.⁴⁴ This leaflet clearly demonstrates that women's concern should be the rearing of children. However, it also suggests that women required advice on this. Women were supposedly naturally good mothers, and yet, they also required guidance and advice to undertake the position. The maternal realm was women's dominion, and yet they were found wanting. Women seemingly also had to be instructed to feed their children the best food and drink available. Adverts for Neave's food quoted Sir C Cameron, MD, who stated that it was 'admirably adapted to the wants of infants', whilst the advert also proclaimed that *The Lancet* had found it to be 'highly nutritious'.⁴⁵ Loeb argues that adverts of this sort subliminally appealed to mothers to prepare their children for later life as 'food is continually forwarded as a sort of insurance to equip the child for battle in later life'.⁴⁶ The

⁴³ *Wings*, December 1894, p. ii.

⁴⁴ *Wings*, November 1894, p. ii.

⁴⁵ *Wings*, July 1894, p. 99.

⁴⁶ Loeb, p. 56.

increasing influence of *The Lancet* and *The BMJ*, among others, considered at length in Jeanne Peterson's discussion of the expanding field of medical periodicals, is indicative of the encroachment of the medical profession into everyday Victorian life.⁴⁷ The profession was increasingly concerned with female experience, evident in the professionalization of midwifery and medicalised advice on child rearing.⁴⁸

This medicalised influence can be seen in the articles within *Wings*. A four-part series, written by 'a maternity nurse' and concerned with child-rearing was published from April to November 1901. Part one considered the unwillingness of middle-class mothers to nurse, concluding that the child would have been in better health if breast-fed. However, the writer of the article continued that if women were to breast-feed then they should be particularly cautious of their own health, diet and wellbeing. She recommended that milk be taken, but criticised the enthusiasm of middle-class mothers in taking alcohol, stating that 'stout is the favourite beverage and its use is almost as general among better-class nursing mothers, as is brandy in confinement cases among the poor'.⁴⁹ In turn, this led to children who were 'never sober from the first moment of their existence until after they are weaned'.⁵⁰ As readers of *Wings* would have been temperate already, this inclusion is curious. It could simply have been to reinforce this message. Part two considered breastfeeding and nursing more closely, and again stated that stimulants, including alcohol and other drugs, should never be taken, during this time.⁵¹ The temperate nature of the reader was already assumed throughout *Wings*, but this article shows that there was now an additional maternal pressure. The third instalment moved beyond alcohol, to

⁴⁷ Jeanne Peterson, 'Medicine', in *Victorian Periodicals and Victorian Society*, ed. by J. Don Vann and Rosemary T. VanArsdel (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), pp. 22–44.

⁴⁸ For a discussion on the professionalization and medicalisation of the female experience see Alison Bashford, *Purity and Pollution: Gender, Embodiment and Victorian Medicine* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1998); Mary Poovey, "'Scenes of an Indelicate Character': The Medical "Treatment" of Victorian Women', *Representations*, 1986, 137–68; Lee Holcombe, *Victorian Ladies at Work: Middle-Class Working Women in England and Wales 1850-1914* (Newton Abbot: David and Charles, 1973), pp. 91–92; Branca; Jane Lewis, 'The Working-Class Wife and Mother and State Intervention, 1870-1918', in *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*, ed. by Jane Lewis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 99–121; *The Female Body in Medicine and Literature*, ed. by Andrew Manghan and Greta Depledge (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2011).

⁴⁹ *Wings*, April 1901, p. 48.

⁵⁰ *Wings*, April 1901, p. 48.

⁵¹ *Wings*, July 1901, p. 93-94.

consider the cleanliness of the baby. Women readers were advised that a child should be bathed twice daily, that feeding utensils should be washed thoroughly, that the child should have plenty of fresh air, and sleep on its own without soothing.⁵² Here the mother was educated and instructed. It was assumed that she did not know what was best, rather, she was told what to do and how to care for her child. The health of the child was paramount, and her own health of secondary importance. Part four was concerned with potential infant illness and discussed thrush at length. It stated that 'there used to be a superstition that a child was bound to have thrush' but went onto assert that this need not be the case.⁵³ The writer instead declared that it was a result of uncleanness, and to prevent this, a child's mouth should be cleaned after every meal as a preventative measure. Curiously though, the article did not include remedies for thrush as the writer was 'sure that no readers of *Wings* would ever need them'.⁵⁴ Women were told how to prevent the ailment, and this was considered enough. The implication was that women would take their role as mother so seriously, that they would not allow their child to be affected. Women were simultaneously in need of education to undertake motherhood and also venerated as good mothers. Ellen Ross considers this issue further, alluding to the dichotomy of 'good mother / bad mother', stating that at the end of the century 'motherhood was no longer a natural attribute of women but a problem and an achievement'.⁵⁵ Women had to work on their maternal skills. Yet, the ideal of motherhood itself was not questioned. Women readers of *Wings* were expected to be mothers or to aim towards this. However, in examining census data for the sample located, this construction does not match reality.

It must be noted that the chart below does not necessarily demonstrate the number of children that the women had, merely the children who were living at home.

⁵² *Wings*, September 1901, p. 122.

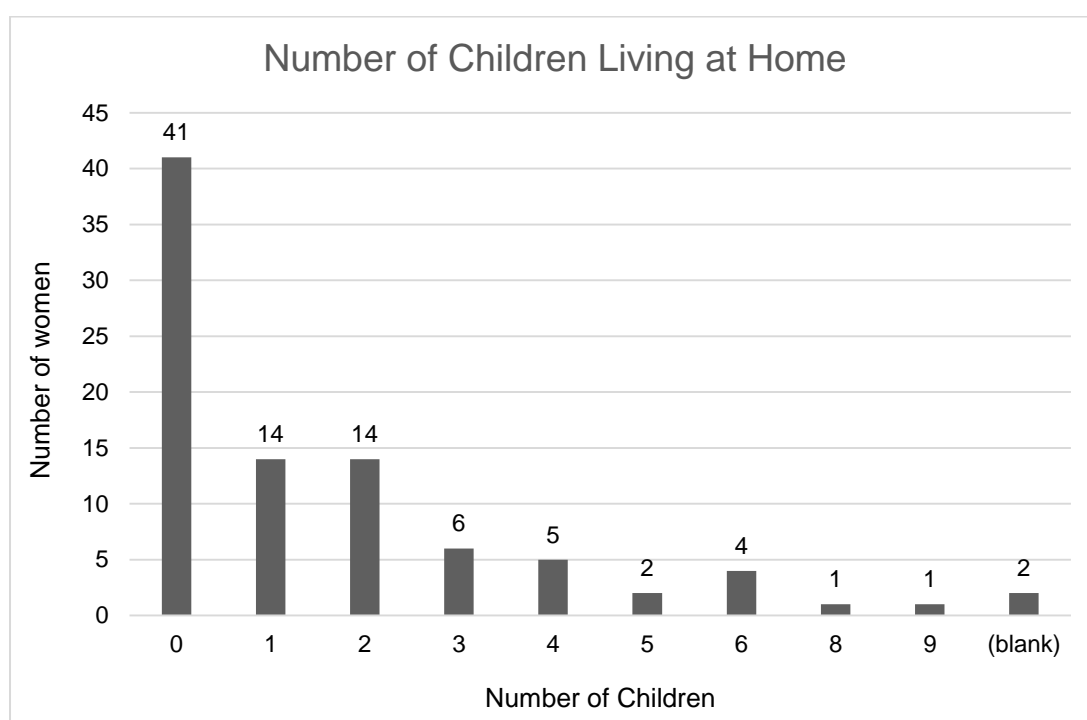
⁵³ *Wings*, November 1901, p. 150.

⁵⁴ *Wings*, November 1901, p. 150.

⁵⁵ Ellen Ross, 'Lady Philanthropists and London Housewives', in *Lady Bountiful Revisited*, ed. by Kathleen McCarthy (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), pp. 174–98 (p. 176).

It does not take into account the children who had reached an age where they were no longer in the family home. Actual numbers would likely have been higher.

Fig 4.6 - Graph showing number of children living at home for Union women found in 1891 census.



The majority of the sample had children living at home (52%). However, among these women, there is a distinct tendency towards one or two children only, supporting the class-based trend toward reduced family size. However, there were anomalies. Mrs Anne Wooliams, secretary of the Kennington branch, was aged 48, married, and had nine children living at home. These were aged between 24 and seven years old and many were in employment themselves. Her eldest daughters, Florence, aged 24, and Alice, aged 16, were listed as 'mother's help' with a 'domestic' classification likely added later. Her sons were employed respectively as a 'bookseller and stationer', butcher's assistant', and 'lawyer's clerk'. The youngest four children, three girls and one boy were listed as 'scholars'. This is the largest family discovered, and demonstrates that some women did have very large families. However, of 90 women

readers, 41 (46%) did not have any children living with them. Almost half of the women located had no children at home at all. It may be that women without children at home were more likely to undertake reform work, they would have had more time and energy. However, as the sample located only includes women who were officers and in positions of authority, aspiration must also be considered. These women would likely have been expected to set an example to rank and file members and yet, almost half did not have children living with them and did not reflect the state of motherhood at which all Victorian women were seemingly expected to aim.

A difficulty of this census data is that it only reflects the number of children living with women at the moment of the census. It does not allow us to consider whether these women had already had children who had left the familial home. Therefore, in an attempt to address this, the data has also been broken down and number of children has been correlated with age.⁵⁶

Fig 4.7 - Table showing number of children living at home, broken down by mother's age.

		Number of Children				
		0	1	2	3	4+
Age	15-19	3	0	0	0	0
	20-24	9	1	1	0	0
	25-34	6	4	3	0	2
	35-44	12	1	5	1	4
	45-54	7	3	2	2	5
	55-64	1	3	3	2	2
	65-	3	2	0	1	0

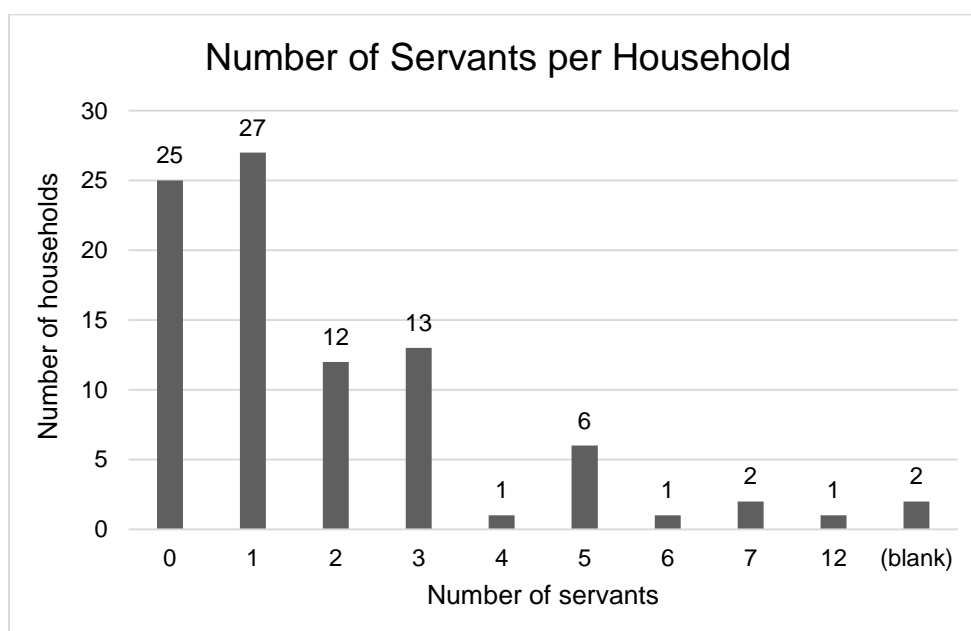
⁵⁶ Two women are not included in this data as they did not state the number of children they had. These women were in the 25-34 category.

For the first two age ranges, the number of women who did not have children at home outnumber those who did. This is expected. For women aged 25-34, this shifts and more women had children than those who did not. This is replicated in the older age brackets of 45-54 and 55-64. Yet, for two age ranges, 35-44 and 65-, the numbers of women who did and who did not have children at home are essentially equal. For those aged 65- this likely demonstrates that their children had left home by this point and no longer lived with them. However, for the age range 35-44, this is curious. This is prime child-rearing age and yet just over half of the women located had no children living with them. Therefore, the women aged 35 and above who did not have children listed as being at home were traced back to the 1881 census in an attempt to ascertain if children had already left the familial home - if they had had children living with them previously. Of the 23 women, it was not possible to trace two - one woman who in 1881 would have been aged 34 and one who would have been aged 44. The first woman was listed as single in the 1891 census and it is probable that she would have been single in the census before. The second woman who it was not possible to trace was listed as a widower in 1891. She may indeed have had children living with her in the previous census. However, of the remaining women (21) who were aged 25 and over in 1881, of prime child-bearing/child-rearing age, only three had children listed as living with them in the census. The majority of women listed in 1891 who did not have children living with them, also did not have children listed as living with them in 1881. The moment of the census in 1891 is not disingenuous, rather it appears that the overwhelming majority of these women did not have children at any point. Although many of the Union women located in the sample did indeed have children, as demonstrated in the table above, many did not. The ideological construction of readers created via advertisements and articles in *Wings* does not necessarily correspond with the reality of some Union members.

Domestic Management

Alongside the creation of the woman reader as wife and mother, adverts and articles within *Wings* also constructed her as a domestic household manager. Advertisements included starch and stove polish, polishing powder, linen, and dye demonstrating that appearances within the home were the responsibility of the woman.⁵⁷ Loeb succinctly observes that ‘middle-class angels were voracious consumers, who sustained a keen interest in household management’.⁵⁸ The supervision and appearance of the home, alongside her own appearance, was important. However, most adverts contained no indication whether products were meant to be bought by women readers for use themselves, or whether they were for the use of servants and household staff. Yet, in examining census data, the experiences of those women located can be used to consider this issue, albeit using a small sample.⁵⁹

Fig 4.8 - Graph showing number of live-in servants for Union women found in 1891 census.



⁵⁷ Starch and stove polish, *Wings*, January 1894, p. ii; Prince's polishing powder, *Wings*, January 1894, p. iii; Linen, *Wings*, June 1894, p. 85; Dye, *Wings*, October 1894, p. iii.

⁵⁸ Loeb, p. 1.

⁵⁹ It should be noted that the available data only shows the number of live-in servants and levels of domestic help would likely have been higher than demonstrated here.

Most households found had either none (25) or one (27) live-in servant, demonstrating generally low levels of domestic help. However, when considering the numbers as an entirety, 63 of 88 households found had at least one live-in servant (72%). Carol Dyhouse discusses domestic help in middle-class households asserting that around three-quarters of the middle-classes 'could afford to employ no more than one domestic servant, a general skivvy, perhaps, or a maid-of-all-work'.⁶⁰ That many women of the sample had more than one domestic servant living with them suggests that many were of the upper-middle or even upper classes. One household, of a Lady Louisa Ashburton, had 12 servants. President of the Manor Way branch, Lady Ashburton's husband had been Privy Councillor before his death. She lived by her own means with two grandchildren and a household of 12 servants. These included a nursery maid and nurse, presumably for her grandchildren, whilst the rest of the household was comprised of a secretary, a housekeeper, two housemaids, a scullery maid, a cook, a kitchen maid, two footmen, and a further maid.

Joseph Banks explores the middle-class expectation of domestic help and the use of servants as a marker of social status, discussing one nineteenth-century woman who used the number of servants a household had in order to place her guests around her own dinner table, in order of importance.⁶¹ To be middle-class and respectable, domestic help was required. Only in one advertisement in *Wings* though, was a servant actively portrayed. In an advert for Beecham's Pills, a colonial servant was portrayed saying 'what am good for de missus am good for me'.⁶² As little mention was made of the issue in advertisements, editorial content should also be considered.

In November 1893, the Union introduced an employment bureau. Advertisements for this appeared in *Wings* but the bureau was dealt with centrally by

⁶⁰ Carol Dyhouse, 'Mothers and Daughters in the Middle-Class Home, c.1870-1914', in *Labour and Love: Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*, ed. by Jane Lewis (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 27-47 (p. 28).

⁶¹ Joseph Banks, *Prosperity and Parenthood* (London: Routledge, 1954), p. 71.

⁶² Beecham's pills, *Wings*, February 1894, p. v.

the Union, and details of those seeking employment were never given in *Wings*. Beetham asserts that columns of this sort created spaces where ‘employers and would-be servants sought each other’ and this was the case within *Wings*.⁶³ It was a place for readers to find their next temperate employee, further asserting the position of *Wings* readers as domestic managers. It was intended to bring ‘total abstaining employers into contact with those holding the same principles who seek employment’.⁶⁴ Using this column, Union women could find a variety of household help and the first advert stated that servants, sewing maids, secretaries, mothers’ helps, coachmen and footmen were all available.⁶⁵ Columns such as this were not uncommon and similar titles also contained bureaus, including *Lady*, launched in 1885 for ‘women of education’.⁶⁶ The presence of this column in *Wings* and the length for which it was included demonstrates that women of the Union were expected to have domestic help.⁶⁷

This is also reinforced via a recurring column from January 1895, which was concerned specifically with household management. Initially named ‘hints for housewives’, this column was renamed many times and guises included ‘middle-class cookery’, ‘housekeepers’ column’, ‘household chat’, ‘invalid cookery’, ‘home column’ and finally ‘the mother’s own page’. Content included recipes and household tips, and regardless of name, the column was aimed at women readers who were overseeing a household, where work was undertaken by others. In February 1900, the column considered ‘wash day’ and that it was ‘only too often a synonym for a day of household discomfort, bringing with it difficulties with servants, unpunctual meals, ruffled tempers - in fact, a general unpleasant domestic atmosphere’.⁶⁸ Although there is little evidence in the advertisements, perhaps as they would have been used across

⁶³ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman’s Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 106.

⁶⁴ *Wings*, November 1893, p. 271.

⁶⁵ *Wings*, November 1893, p. 276.

⁶⁶ Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London’s West End*, p. 114.

⁶⁷ The employment bureau was introduced in 1893 and ran throughout 1894 and 1895.

⁶⁸ *Wings*, February 1900, p. 28.

several titles, editorial content from *Wings*, along with the experiences of some of its women members, demonstrates that Union women would likely have expected and had domestic help.

Although servants were considered and normalised in *Wings*, their management was infrequently discussed. Yet, this was one of the key problems faced by middle-class women. A series in *The Queen* entitled 'Why don't we get good servants?' discussed the recruitment, training and control of servants, declaring that women should be careful to maintain distance, not get too close to their staff and that they should encourage good, moral behaviour.⁶⁹ Again here, women required assistance and guidance. In *Wings*, in September 1898, an article considered the role of the woman reader as manager of servants and declared that 'the mistress should not be unduly familiar at one time and unduly severe at another, but kind and sympathetic always'.⁷⁰ The need for moral guidance of servants was emphasised as 'a mistress has much influence, not only over the servants in her household but over the families from which each comes, and if any of them are engaged she can influence the young men too'.⁷¹ Women were expected not only to guide their own servants but also a wider circle, providing moral direction. Indeed, although the employment bureau was a place for Union women to find their next employee, it may also have been a place where they could place advertisements for their wider circle. Union women were required to set a good example, be moral, respectable and maintain their status. Beetham explores this idea and rightly asserts that 'the management of servants was about the regulation of appropriate models of the self'.⁷² In managing servants, women were in effect managing themselves, demonstrating domestic skills and moral integrity. The mistress was not only a domestic manager of things, but also of people.

⁶⁹ *The Queen*, 1862, p. 98. Qtd in Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 107.

⁷⁰ *Wings*, September 1898, p. 120.

⁷¹ *Wings*, September 1898, p. 120.

⁷² Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 107.

Employment

Throughout the nineteenth century, there was a growing debate over which forms of employment, if any, were acceptable for upper- and middle-class adult women. Ellen Jordan considers female employment at length and asserts that although the numbers of occupations available to women had declined since the beginning of the eighteenth century, this trend was reversed in the period 1850-1911.⁷³ More women entered the world of work, but in spite of increasing numbers, it remained a controversial subject. Vicinus asserts that 'the limited employment available for respectable women and the necessity of expanding opportunities became matters of public debate'.⁷⁴

Rowbotham discusses different fields of employment for women including governessing, writing, nursing, teaching, journalism, and particularly pertinent for this work, philanthropy. She asserts that by the 1880s philanthropy held 'the status of a profession', and acted as 'an outlet for the energies of girls and women, single and married, who wished for responsibilities outside their homes even when there was no financial imperative'.⁷⁵ She continues that 'various large charitable bodies thus began to employ practical and reliable ladies to carry out the philanthropic work in which they interested themselves on a full-time professional basis'.⁷⁶ Philanthropy was open to almost any woman with the time, energy and inclination and provided her with respectable way to leave the domestic sphere and potentially earn an income. The Union enabled the employment of women and in turn, their professionalization.

Although the individual amounts are unknown, the editor and officers of the Union all received a salary, shown in the annual report each year. In June 1899 salaries were discussed and 'it was proposed by the President, seconded by Mrs

⁷³ Jordan, *The Women's Movement and Women's Employment in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, p. 5.

⁷⁴ Vicinus, 'Introduction', p. xvi.

⁷⁵ Rowbotham, p. 253.

⁷⁶ Rowbotham, p. 256.

Lyon and carried that Miss Denny's salary be raised to £52 and Miss Pikes to £32 per annum'.⁷⁷ These wages are roughly equivalent to c.£20,000 and £12,500 in 2017, which are not insubstantial amounts.⁷⁸ In this month, in *Wings*, Miss Denny was listed as 'trade secretary' but the exact role of Miss Pikes is unknown.⁷⁹ Later, in April 1904, the Union decided to employ a junior office clerk in the organisation headquarters and that they would offer a salary of 8/- [shillings] per week.⁸⁰ This is equal to around £7,800 per annum in modern currency.⁸¹ For comparison, *Tempted London*, a guide for young men living in London, asserted that young men working as general clerks could expect to earn 'from 18s. to 25s. a week'.⁸² This range suggested for a male clerk was equivalent to the earnings of Miss Denny, a trade secretary, though not Miss Pikes and certainly not the salary offered to the junior clerk. When differentiated for gender (women would earn less for the same position), Miss Denny's and Miss Pikes' salaries are perhaps of the lower-middle to lower- class range. Indeed, Maud Pember Reeves's account, *Round About A Pound A Week*, outlines a £1 per week income as being a respectable working-class income.⁸³

Yet, the Union did pay some women substantial amounts. In July 1902, Miss Boyd, secretary of the Union, was considered and her salary was increased to £125 per annum.⁸⁴ This is a very high salary, around £47,300 in modern terms.⁸⁵ In April 1904, she was again considered and her salary was this time increased to £150 per annum.⁸⁶ This salary increase meant that she was now earning the modern equivalent of £56,500.⁸⁷ For the secretary of the Union to be earning such a sum seems

⁷⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, June 1899

⁷⁸ Conversion of £52 and £32 respectively for 'labour earnings', <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/> [Accessed 06/07/2017]

⁷⁹ *Wings*, June 1899, p. 84.

⁸⁰ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, April 1904

⁸¹ Conversion of 8 shillings for 'labour earnings', <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/> [Accessed 06/07/2017]

⁸² Anon, *Tempted London: Young Men*, 1889, p. 39. Accessed via *The Victorian Dictionary* by Lee Jackson, <http://www.victorianlondon.org/publications3/tempted-03.htm> [accessed 08/08/17]

⁸³ Maud Pember Reeves, *Round About A Pound A Week*, 2nd edn (London: G Bell and Sons Ltd, 1914).

⁸⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, July 1902

⁸⁵ Conversion of £125 for 'labour earnings', <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/> [Accessed 06/07/2017]

⁸⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, April 1904

⁸⁷ Conversion of £150 for 'labour earnings', <https://www.measuringworth.com/ukcompare/> [Accessed 06/07/2017]

extraordinary. The Union offered a range of salaries from a very low level to one of notable value. They apparently endeavoured to treat some staff exceptionally well and gave unrequested financial remuneration, raising salaries where they considered appropriate.

Yet, beyond these few mentions, it is unclear who actually received a salary within the group and what their position or importance was. Salaries were listed as being given to secretaries, organisers, *Wings*' editor, and staff members, but these outgoings were recorded in the same financial category as the auditor fee.⁸⁸ Further detail was not recorded in the records of the group, perhaps demonstrating that the Union was not concerned with financial economies. It is clear though, that there was a general upward trend in the amount assigned to salaries. The amount increased from £366 in 1893-4 to £652 in 1908-9. In spite of the continuous financial difficulties faced by the group, those members who worked for the Union were relatively well paid. There is no evidence in the committee minutes to suggest that these salaries were requested and so it is curious that pay increases were given so often. Rather than merely being a reform group, working for the greater good of temperance, it seems that at times, the Union executive prioritised the financial security of its own officials, and thus promoted their professionalisation.

Moving to consider the sample data from the census, professions of each woman found are listed below.

Fig 4.9 - Table showing given occupations of sample of Union women found in 1891 census.

Artist / Decorator	1
Assistant Grocer	1
Clerk	1

⁸⁸ See annual financial statements in WTAU Annual Reports, 1893-4 to 1908-1909.

Dressmaker / Milliner	3
Governess	1
Hospital Nurse	1
Lady	1
Living on Own Means	15
Student	2
Public Lecturer	1
Shop Keeper	1
Teacher	5
Unstated	57
TOTAL	90

In order to undertake meaningful analysis, some professions have been categorised. For example, 'teacher of music', 'teacher of language', 'professor of physical culture', and 'schoolmistress' have been grouped together, as have 'milliner' and 'dressmaker'. 'Student' includes individual entries of 'student for Cambridge' and 'medicine student'. Although interesting, the data above does not provide any significant insight into female employment and must be broken down further.

Lewis suggests that at the end of the century, married women's employment was 'substantially lower - probably less than half - than it was in the mid-nineteenth century'.⁸⁹ Middle-class status was closely linked to familial ability to support female members without their undertaking paid employment. Once a woman was married, it was aspirational that she gave up work. Therefore, to enable a full exploration of the available data, profession has been broken down by marital status.

⁸⁹ Jane Lewis, *Women in England 1870 - 1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change* (Sussex: Wheatsheaf, 1984), p. 149.

Fig 4.10 - Occupations of Union women found in 1891 census, broken down by marital status.

	Married	Single	Widowed	TOTAL
Artist / Decorator	1			1
Assistant Grocer		1		1
Clerk		1		1
Dressmaker / Milliner	2	1		3
Governess		1		1
Hospital Nurse		1		1
Lady			1	1
Living on Own Means		7	8	15
Student		2		2
Public Lecturer		1		1
Shop Keeper	1			1
Teacher		5		5
Unstated	43	13	1	57
TOTAL	47	33	10	90

No widowed woman located listed an occupation. However, for the married and single women located, there are two issues of note with regard to employment. Firstly, in the sample, the married women found were less likely to enter an occupation. In 1891, only four of the married women listed a profession and it is questionable whether two of these women, Mrs Caroline Hardwick and Mrs Anne Atherton, discussed earlier, were actually married or separated, due to their listing as 'head of household'. These women were employed as 'shop keeper' and 'artist' respectively. Therefore, of the sample, only two married women who were definitely living with their husbands

entered a profession. These both had a similar occupation of 'dressmaker' and 'milliner'. Annie Birchall's husband was listed as a draper and it seems likely that she would have simply assisted her husband in his work. However, the second woman, Elizabeth Goodson, had a husband who was a deal porter, handling and stacking 'deal' or wood. Both of these women were listed as secretary of their local branch and had no domestic servants. It seems that both belonged to fairly low-income households, with an economic need to work and contribute to their household finances. It appears that the WTAU was not only a middle-class organisation. The lives of some Union women located do not reflect the implied reader constructed via the magazine, a mother and wife, an angel in the home, with domestic assistance.

As most married women found did not state a profession, it may be that they were in fact employed within the home, in the position of domestic manager, reinforced through content within *Wings*, outlined above. From 1881, women's household chores were excluded from census professions and so even if women were engaged in this type of work, it would not be recorded.⁹⁰ These women would now have been classified as unoccupied and without a profession, and concerns over middle-class respectability may be at work here. Yet, there were anomalies. In 1891, unmarried Miss Dorothea Caine was listed as 'medicine student', and in *Wings* in July 1896, she was congratulated 'on her appointment to the position of Senior House Surgeon to the New Hospital for Women ... a position of great responsibility which we feel sure she will ably fill'.⁹¹ Mitchell asserts that in 1889 there was 'a grand total of 72 women physicians on the medical register'.⁹² Even by this point, female doctors were still uncommon. Yet, the Union here encouraged female medical employment, celebrating and congratulating women in positions of power. But Dorothea Caine was single. In 1898, she married and became Mrs Colman; however, in 1901, her

⁹⁰ Lewis, *Women in England 1870 - 1950: Sexual Divisions and Social Change*, p. 146.

⁹¹ *Wings*, July 1896, p. 98.

⁹² Mitchell, p. 27.

profession was listed as 'physician' and in 1911, as 'doctor of medicine' (not practising). Mrs Colman continued to be defined by her unusual occupation long after marriage, but, once again, this is an irregularity. The second issue of note is that when considering single women's employment in the census data, higher numbers (20) listed a profession (60%). Single women were more likely to need to support themselves financially and thus be employed. Further, single women would likely be less constrained by ideals of family and femininity. They would be able to take greater advantage of increasing female freedoms and engage in paid employment. A woman who listed her work was inadvertently, or perhaps advertently, defining herself through her occupation.

Conclusion

Establishing a readership of periodicals is complex. Lynne Warren states that 'to date it has been very difficult to establish anything very tangible about the real readers of nineteenth-century popular periodicals'.⁹³ In examining *Wings*, researchers can create an implied readership and hope to uncover information about the wider Union. Yet, in identifying a small sample of women members, some comparison can be undertaken. It clearly must be noted that this is a small and perhaps unrepresentative sample, and it is not considered that this is an actual and final readership of the journal. Yet, once again, it would be remiss to ignore the data available. Even using a small sample, key issues emerge and it appears that there are discrepancies between the implied readership created by the journal and some of the membership.

Marriage was venerated within the pages of the periodical and married women were perhaps more likely to hold elevated positions within the group hierarchy. Traditional modes of femininity were celebrated via marriage announcements and

⁹³ Lynne Warren, 'Women in Conference: Reading the Correspondence Columns in Woman 1890-1910', in *Nineteenth Century Media and the Construction of Identities*, ed. by Laurel Brake, Bill Bell, and David Finkelstein (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 122-34 (p. 122).

articles on child rearing. But the picture is more complex when considering the census sample. This suggests that women may have married later, if indeed at all. Via the journal, women were encouraged to become wives, and later mothers, yet implicitly advised that they needed assistance to undertake this supposed natural role of motherhood. Once again though, the census data shows a different experience for some women. Almost half of the women located in census records had no children living with them. The magazine encouraged respectable middle-class gender ideals and domestic help was assumed, as columns discussed the management of servants but many women found in the sample had little or no domestic assistance. The inclusion of an employment bureau, alongside the rise of domestic columns and wider domestic economy manuals demonstrates that women were required to be domestic, yet also required assistance with this. In *Wings*, female employment and education was celebrated. Education and employment had increased throughout the century yet was still often the subject of ridicule and fear. In including articles congratulating women on their employment, the magazine normalised such aspirations and perhaps encouraged young women to remain in the WTAU. Across several specifically female issues, the census sample located suggests that there may be some differences between the implied reader constructed via the journal and some Union women.

It seems likely that these differences between an implied readership and the actual experience of some members or readers may also exist across other social reform groups and journals. There are broad implications across nineteenth-century periodicals. The creation of any implied readership is unlikely to fully reflect any actual membership or readership. The Union and *Wings* appeared essentially conservative, and adhering to middle-class gendered ideology, yet their journal and the experience of some women members is more complex. Located at a cross section of gender, reform, and respectability, the WTAU and *Wings* are indicative of the complexities in the wider periodical press and reform movements.

Chapter Five: Blurred Boundaries – Morally Political?

The history of the temperance movement is complex. It was both radical and conservative, it encompassed both the working and middle classes, and it was both moral and political. Yet, this depth and complexity is often overlooked. McAllister suggests that the temperance movement has been ‘caricatured’ as a middle-class movement which was intended to control a passive working class, but that this is ‘ignoring important historical investigation and misreading sources’.¹ McAllister is here exploring the perception of the movement and she demonstrates that there are significant issues with overtly simplified binary distinctions. The movement was not one thing or another, rather, it encompassed all of the categories above. Yet, in his pioneering text, *Drink and the Victorians*, perhaps the fundamental text for temperance historians, Harrison asserts that with the foundation of the United Kingdom Alliance (UKA) in 1853, along with the passing of the Maine Law in the USA in 1851, the temperance movement was divided into ‘moral suasionists’ and ‘legislative compulsionists’.² Harrison describes the different modes of work associated, stating that moral suasionists gave priority to education, whilst legislative compulsionists focused on prohibition and aimed to reform through amendment of law, rather than individual choice. For Harrison, the movement was divided into those who believed temperance was a personal choice and those who believed temperance would be achieved through political reform. More recent works have engaged with Harrison’s initial ideas and rather assert that this is overly simplistic. Rather, Jennings considers the duality of moral and political and asserts that ‘moral suasion was not abandoned’ with the foundation of a political campaign, rather both continued side by side.³ Kneale asserts that it began as a moral suasionist activity, before becoming political, but crucially for this study he suggests that that debates over the place of

¹ McAllister, *Demon Drink? Temperance and the Working Class*, (preface, location 90).

² Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 19.

³ Jennings, *A History of Drink and the English*, p. 157.

drink were rather over definitions of public space. He asserts that temperance gave middle-class women reformers 'their first experience of political engagement'.⁴

As asserted throughout this thesis, temperance was considered a respectable area of social reform work. Positioned as a moral duty, women were able to undertake work as an extension of their domestic role, in control of both their own and their family's virtue. Rowbotham states that:

Women's role as the moral guardians of the race meant that ladies would be particularly effective in improving the condition of the most worrying cases, those who were morally as well as financially poor, by giving them suitable messages to relieve at least one element of their poverty.⁵

In line with the ideology of respectable women's work, it would be expected that women would only undertake moral suasion. Indeed, Harrison's dichotomy suggests that women would undertake moral work only. Women remained without the franchise and direct political activism was still largely considered unbecoming of respectable women. However, the reality is more complex than this binary distinction. Kneale's work is relevant here as his assertion that temperance was concerned with debates over public space suggests that women were able to undertake both moral and political methods of reform work, and move between the realm of private and public, under the guise of respectable social reform.⁶ These ideas of space and respectable reform are explored in this final chapter using examples of real women of the Union. This thesis uses the foundational ideas of Harrison, Jennings and Kneale and agrees that the establishment of the UKA did provide a political arm. However, upon this political foundation, moral suasion was not abandoned, and neither was the movement as neatly segregated as these previous works seemingly suggest. Rather,

⁴ Kneale, 'The Place of Drink', p. 51.

⁵ Rowbotham, p. 253.

⁶ Kneale, 'The Place of Drink'.

those working within the movement could undertake a variety of reform work, using different methods of moral and political. Women of the Union undertook reform using both moral suasion and political temperance methods. The binaries outlined by Harrison's earlier work, by caricatures of the temperance movement, and through the schism in 1893 itself, are not indicative of the nuances involved in female social reform work. This chapter instead argues that the work undertaken by the Union was morally political.

Several critics have considered women working in temperance, asserting that some used temperance, a respectable movement, to manipulate gender ideology and acceptable notions of women's work.⁷ Essentially, they used a respectable movement to move from the domestic and gain semi-masculine skills, such as public speaking and debate, disrupting gender norms. Yet, as has been shown throughout this work, the Union was deeply concerned with respectability and acceptable notions of femininity. As outlined in the previous two chapters, the construction of their readers demonstrates that they constructed both themselves and their readers as the respectable face of female temperance work. As a result, we might expect the Union to be more resistant to methods of reform that involved the destabilisation of normative gender roles. But this is not the case and is examined in this chapter in two ways. Firstly, the actions of the Union and reform work undertaken are considered, and this chapter argues that the Union undertook both moral and political reform work, blurring boundaries of acceptable female reform. Secondly, building on the construction of women readers of *Wings*, this section considers women of the Union more closely to explore the boundaries of acceptable social work. It examines specific women of the Union, building the third layer of the methodology outlined in the

⁷ See Doern, 'Temperance and Feminism in England, c.1790-1890: Women's Weapons – Prayer, Pen and Platform'; Doern, 'Equal Questions: The "Woman Question" and the "Drink Question" in the Writings of Clara Lucas Balfour, 1808 - 78'; Smitley, 'Woman's Mission: The Temperance and Women's Suffrage Movements in Scotland, C1870-1914'; Lloyd-Morgan; Shiman, "'Changes Are Dangerous': Women and Temperance in Victorian England'; Lilian Lewis Shiman, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1992); Mattingly; Bordin.

introduction. Chapters three and four formed the first and second layers, creating, and subsequently comparing, an implied readership with a sample of Union women located through census research. The previous chapters looked at the Union broadly, whilst this chapter examines specific aspects in close detail. Within this second part of the chapter, there are a further two subsections. Initially, the Union is examined through analysis of monthly interviews with well-known temperance women, positioned on the front cover each month. Finally, through in-depth case studies of two real women of the Union, Fanny Forsaith, editor of *Wings*, and Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, president of the Union. This chapter explores the issue of respectable moral suasionist temperance work, and argues that women of the Union blurred the boundaries of fin de siècle middle-class female reform as well as ideas of space. The ideology of separate spheres did not hold. The WTAU women were part of a broader community, imagined and emotional, and straddled a line between private and public, and worked within a feminine public sphere.

Domestic moralising

As outlined by Harrison, moral suasion focused on education. Within this broad category, this chapter suggests that additional activities such as visiting would be included, as they were completed with the aim of educating the poor and persuading them to adopt a temperate lifestyle. In her consideration of the (N)BWTA, Barrow considers the mode of the reform work proposed by the WTAU, asserting that the conservative executive wanted this to be undertaken in 'a ladylike manner by "national house to house visitation, when visitors shall call upon every house, in every street, of every town and village in the land", in order to leave temperance tracts and pledge cards'.⁸ She further states that the Union 'appear to have been prepared to forsake political action in order to keep the association a single issue society'.⁹ Upon

⁸ Barrow, 'Temperate Feminists: The British Women's Temperance Association', pp. 193–94.

⁹ Barrow, 'Temperate Feminists: The British Women's Temperance Association', pp. 193–94.

splitting from the BWTA, the Union specifically asserted that they would only work on temperance reform and the methods outlined above by Barrow place the work of the Union firmly in the category of moral suasion.

Despite its stated intentions, the Union undertook a wide range of work. Indeed, there were instances when very little reform work was actually encouraged. In April 1902, *Wings* published an article entitled 'A call to work. How can women respond?'¹⁰ The very title of this article suggests that women were being called to undertake work across the country and it stated that 'women have a special task and responsibility in uplifting and purifying our country, and consequently, that we must be in the forefront of that struggle'.¹¹ A moralistic undertone and sense of female duty was apparent as women were positioned as responsible for the nation's standards and advised that it was their 'special task' to 'purify' the country. Crucially, temperance reform work was positioned as a key part of this moral standing and thus the work of the Union was justified. Temperance was positioned as a just and significant cause. The article discussed how Union women could help the cause, beginning 'in the home' before moving to 'form a WTAU society'.¹² Fascinatingly here, women were told to move from the home, the private sphere, to a feminine public space of philanthropy and charity. Although moral suasion activities were the intended actions of the group, as stated upon their foundation, there was no mention in this article of exactly what work should be undertaken. Rather, it only considered how each society should be set up and ways in which members could be attracted. After establishment, the only activities outlined were that the group could hold 'drawing room meetings', 'sectional meetings', and 'circulate *Wings*'.¹³ Rather than undertaking moral suasion reform, as they stated they would, the group was seemingly here a predominantly social one. Very little work was discussed. In the statement upon their foundation,

¹⁰ *Wings*, April 1902, p. 45.

¹¹ *Wings*, April 1902, p. 45.

¹² *Wings*, April 1902, p. 45.

¹³ *Wings*, April 1902, p. 45-6.

they asserted that they would go from house to house carrying out reform activities, but in this instance in *Wings* women were told to simply set up a Union branch and have drawing room meetings, rather than undertake visitation and active reform work. Here, the work appears limited but it is of note that Rosenwein's ideas of an emotional community are relevant here. In spite of a lack of actual reform work, the group could still provide some support to one another. The article did however assert that women should 'keep to a temperance propaganda' and that they should 'not introduce other topics upon which there is a diversity of opinion'.¹⁴ The Union was attempting here to maintain their temperance-only stance, in line with their stated intention at the time of the schism.

However, in spite of the example above, the Union more generally did undertake moral suasion work. For example, they sustained a temperance home for female drunkards. In 1886, the BWTA established their 'home for inebriate women', subsequently opening more branches until four such establishments existed by 1891.¹⁵ After the schism, the Union continued the work of one of these houses, located in Sydenham, and advertised it in *Wings*. The first advertisement stated, 'the women's temperance home, at Sydenham, receives a limited number of LADIES desirous of overcoming habits of intemperance. Terms moderate, varying according to requirements'.¹⁶ There are two issues of interest here: the terms of admission, and the intended patient. Firstly, women who wished to enter the home had to pay. The house did not cost the Union financially and since 1893 it had been 'entirely self-supporting, the fees from the patients and receipts from their work sufficing for all our expenses'.¹⁷ It would suggest that this institution was only available to those who could afford such treatment and not those lowest in society, deemed to have truly fallen. This is further reinforced by the second issue of interest, the use of the term

¹⁴ *Wings*, April 1902, p. 46.

¹⁵ *British Women's Temperance Journal*, October 1891, p. 112.

¹⁶ *Wings*, December 1893, p. 288.

¹⁷ *Sixth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1898-9, p. 87.

'ladies' in the advertisement which suggests a class distinction of patients. However, the report of the home given to the Union in 1898-9, stated that 'there are in the home at the beginning of the year thirteen ladies and eight working women'.¹⁸ The advertisement suggests that the home was available for well-off women, whilst the patients admitted suggests that the Union was here undertaking reform of women more widely, including those of the working classes. The Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) also managed inebriate institutions however, they overtly distinguished between classes of patients, having 'drawing room patients', 'kitchen patients', and 'workroom inmates'.¹⁹ The Union did not openly record different levels of patient, beyond 'working women' and 'ladies'. It is not clear whether these patients were treated differently, and how this may have happened. The Union undertook temperance reform of women, across different classes, and within the boundaries of acceptable, respectable social reform work.

This issue of classed reform is important. The Union worked to reform working-class women, persuading them to adopt a temperate lifestyle, using moral suasion methods. The Laundresses' League, outlined in chapter one, is one example. Going into a working-class female space and preaching the temperance message was firmly respectable work. Earlier, in both 1893 and 1894, Union women were encouraged to speak to meetings of working-class mothers. In September 1893, an article in *Wings* advised women of the suitability of mothers' union meetings as a place for reform work, stating that temperance could be spread through 'maternal influence'.²⁰ It discussed the need to give an address on a 'homely topic such as obedience, discipline, habits, temperance, family life, literature and amusements, Sabbath observance, dress etc', considering that after the initial lecture, the issue

¹⁸ *Sixth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1898-9, p. 86.

¹⁹ Stephanie Olsen and Gerald Wayne Olsen, 'Church of England Temperance Society (CETS) Inebriate Homes', ed. by Jack S. Blocker, David M. Fahey, and Ian R. Tyrrell, *Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia* (California: ABC-CLIO Ltd, 2003), 156-58 (p. 158).

²⁰ *Wings*, September 1893, p. 245.

could be further 'discussed over a cup of tea and a biscuit.'²¹ Here, the Union was attempting to reform working-class women, and although this list may appear a caricature to modern eyes, it is typical of late-century reform. The article went on to declare that at the end of the meeting a 'card of rules' should be given out to each woman present. The working-class women were asked to agree to a set of rules including that they would pray regularly for their children, never send their children to the public house, never allow coarse words or jests before the children, and to be careful about the 'modesty and decency of the sleeping accommodation.'²² The article also expressed a hope that 'the very sight of the card of rules may induce the father also to think whether his authority might not be more beneficially exerted.'²³ The women of the Union sought to reform working-class women and girls, but potentially influenced working-class men by proxy. In a further article from May 1894, readers were once again told of the suitability of mothers' meetings to undertake reform work.²⁴ Readers were advised of the potential pitfalls of 'lecturing or scolding' and were warned that:

Those who attend the meetings should not be continually asked to sign the pledge, but that such facts may be laid before them as will convince their understandings that alcoholic drinks are unnecessary and hurtful and that to abstain from them is the wiser and the safer course.²⁵

Even within a working-class environment, women of the Union were still required to be essentially womanly and told that they should not lecture or scold.

This need to retain their womanliness whilst undertaking moral suasion reform can also be seen as women of the Union were encouraged to retain their domestic skills and put these to use in the temperance cause. In *Wings* in 1896 an article entitled 'How we manage our temperance tent' gave advice to women readers on

²¹ *Wings*, September 1893, p. 245.

²² *Wings*, September 1893, p. 245.

²³ *Wings*, September 1893, p. 245.

²⁴ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 59.

²⁵ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 59.

managing a refreshment post at a gala event.²⁶ That a woman was advising others on the best way to do this demonstrates that women of the WTAU were clearly expected to take part in this sort of event. But, reform work here was comfortably situated within the confines of respectable domesticity. Miss Clough outlined the required tea-making facilities and explained what foodstuffs should be served within the temperance tent. She ended by stating that, although they did not take a large amount, they were sure that 'fewer visits are paid to the tent where alcoholic liquors are sold' as a result.²⁷ The tea tent was a common sight, and indicative of the gendered reform undertaken by Victorian women. Afternoon tea was a distinctly female affair, and Rappaport asserts that 'by linking tea to religion and social reform, wealthy women changed this private pastime into a public good'.²⁸ She continues that tea was a distinctly 'civilising' influence, prompting both men and women and members of all classes to act in a respectable manner.²⁹ Moral in nature, reform work by the Union was firmly gendered, domestic, and respectable.

In July 1900, this domesticity was reiterated in more subtle ways as an article in *Wings* advised readers on 'How to start and work a junior society'.³⁰ As outlined in chapter four, the establishment of junior societies would have helped to secure the future of the Union and so this can be seen as certainly undertaking temperance related work. However, the tone of the article was domestic. It likened the process of beginning a junior society to cooking, stating that the tools to create a society were found in every town but that every woman knew that 'in cooking the best ingredients are often spoiled through the incompetent manipulation of an inexperienced cook'.³¹ The foundation of junior societies was compared to domestic activities, explicitly cooking, familiar to female members. In equating reform activities to the domestic,

²⁶ *Wings*, May 1896, p. 65-6.

²⁷ *Wings*, May 1896 p. 65-6.

²⁸ Erika Diane Rappaport, 'Sacred and Useful Pleasures: The Temperance Tea Party and the Creation of a Sober Consumer Culture in Early Industrial Britain', *Journal of British Studies*, 52.4 (2013), 990–1016 (p. 1007).

²⁹ Rappaport, 'Sacred and Useful Pleasures: The Temperance Tea Party and the Creation of a Sober Consumer Culture in Early Industrial Britain', pp. 991–92.

³⁰ *Wings*, July 1900, p. 91.

³¹ *Wings*, July 1900, p. 91.

these would be normalised to women members who were still concerned with respectability and reputation. Yet, there were those within the Union who were less concerned with this and did undertake work that was not essentially moral in nature. Some within the Union began to blur Harrison's binary distinction and disrupt notions of acceptable, respectable female reform work.

Morally political

This blurring between moral and political can even be seen in a single issue of *Wings*. In March 1894, two articles were concerned with the mode of temperance work. An article by Irene M. Ashby entitled 'Methods of temperance work' broke this work down into categories of 'education, rescue and protection'.³² Having made this distinction, the author focused predominantly on education and rescue, terming these 'individual' and 'social' methods of work. The final category, protection, was termed a 'legal' method. However, the author only discussed the application of current laws, and did not encourage women to campaign for reform. This distinction fits with Harrison's binary between moral and legislative modes of work, and is in line with the boundaries prescribed by prevailing gender ideologies. However, in the same issue, an article was included entitled 'How to petition parliament' by Mrs W. S. Caine where she took readers through the necessary bureaucratic instructions to ensure that the petition would be counted.³³ She urged women members to assemble petitions to parliament, stating that:

We are constantly told that petitions are of little value, and that the time spent in obtaining signatures might be used to much better purpose; but Members of Parliament, and others interested in the matter, assure

³² *Wings*, March 1894, p. 39.

³³ *Wings*, March 1894, p. 31.

us that this is not the case, but that petitions *have* weight, and *great* weight, with the Government.³⁴

Within a single issue of the paper, women readers were first encouraged to deal primarily in moral reform, but then explicitly told to be political and engage with the amendment of law. Women were encouraged to use their voices in a political way, albeit, for the temperance cause. Here, the Union was giving mixed messages to their readership, perhaps indicative of their desire to strike a balance between conservative and progressive ideals. They began to undertake work that was neither solely moral or overtly political, rather they encouraged a morally political stance.

Yet, some women of the Union bypassed any balancing act and undertook actions which, although remaining directly linked to temperance, were overtly political in nature. Accounts of these were sometimes included in *Wings*, indirectly influencing other women and in turn normalising these actions and approaches. In May 1894, Mrs M. A. Gibson reported on 'a day's experience at a licensing court' and recounted that the WTAU 'assembled in strong force at the Court' to oppose the granting of alcoholic licenses.³⁵ She further went on to state that 'we were our own advocates ... and were allowed to heap proof upon proof that already too many licensed houses existed'. Particularly of note, the article concluded by mentioning one special case where the author and another WTAU member, Mrs Chappell, had appealed in person against a grocer's license which had subsequently been turned down. Finally, the piece concluded by stating that 'we hope this case will be an incentive and encouragement to others all over the Kingdom to do likewise'.³⁶ Clearly, there were women in the Union who were prepared to risk their reputation by undertaking direct political action. Attending court, taking petitions and finally appealing in person are

³⁴ *Wings*, March 1894, p. 31.

³⁵ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 66-67.

³⁶ *Wings*, May 1894, p. 66-67.

clear political acts. Furthermore, once again, in sharing their success, the article encouraged other women readers to do the same.

This political encouragement can also be seen in an article in *Wings*, written by Mrs Harrison Lee from July 1899. Entitled 'How to make a procession telling and effective', the article discussed the banners, motifs and mottos that could be used in a procession.³⁷ Further, the author outlined her belief that processions could create a 'living blackboard', used to educate the people.³⁸ Although at first glance a procession may seem a somewhat social activity, the act itself is doubtlessly political. Women in a procession would be transgressing not only private domestic space, but also the feminine public sphere and entering the full public sphere. The desire to educate, a method of moral suasion, is here combined with a political act, procession and parade. Here, Kneale's ideas, outlined at the start of this chapter, are relevant. Union women were able to undertake political engagement, and move from the private to (feminine) public.

However, the authors of these overtly political columns should be considered. It is noteworthy that the articles outlined above which advised women to undertake political actions were not written by the Union per se. Official Union messages were not signed however, these articles outlined above included the name of the author. These articles were written by rank and file members, or members of the various committees. However, they were still included in the journal. The heteroglossia of the journal is in fact a reflection of the heteroglossia of the organisation. Even if the Union did not give the messages of politicisation themselves, their inclusion in the magazine suggests that the Union did not entirely disagree with their message. Rather, the organisation could retain its respectable and conservative façade, whilst messages encouraging activism could be given between members, not involving the official organisation. It seems that women members of the WTAU were more progressive

³⁷ *Wings*, July 1897, p. 93.

³⁸ *Wings*, July 1897, p. 93.

than the organisation itself and more prepared to risk their own reputation where they considered this necessary.

Yet, although not encouraging direct political action, the WTAU certainly wanted their readers to be politically aware. A recurring column entitled 'Parliamentary notes' was included in the journal throughout 1895. This discussed political issues including temperance concerns, gossip, resignations, and news of MPs. However, the column ceased after one year and when examining the layout of the page, the messages given to women readers were contradictory and confusing. The column was published nine times and on four of those occasions it was placed on the same page as columns named 'hints for housewives' or 'for the children'. In these instances, women reformers were reminded, even whilst reading about parliamentary issues, of their identity as a domestic creature and mother. Women readers primarily concerned with their domesticity or appearance were not permitted to overlook their reforming duties and vice versa. There were only very few instances when the Union encouraged direct political action. In May 1895 the 'Parliamentary notes' were placed on the same page as 'Notes and Comments', the space for official WTAU notices. In this month the notice was concerned with the Local Veto Bill and readers were asked to take two forms of political action. They were encouraged to write to their MP as individuals, whilst each branch were also asked to send a petition directly to Parliament.³⁹ Women were encouraged to use their political voice for the temperance cause, but only for this.

In February 1895, via the official column, the Union addressed the issue of the upcoming London County Elections. Female voting was permitted in these elections, a novelty, but *Wings* did not look at the vote in these terms, and focused instead on which candidates believed in and supported the temperance cause, providing a list of questions which women could put to councillors. However, there was no information

³⁹ *Wings*, May 1895, p. 63-4.

provided on who was standing for council, where they could be found or most importantly, urging women readers to vote. Indeed, the female vote was not explicitly discussed. Women readers of *Wings* were not explicitly told to use their vote but they were encouraged to be politically aware and to do as much as they could.⁴⁰ It may be that the Union simply expected women to vote and did not see the need for discussion on this issue. However this overt omission neatly demonstrates the level of engagement with politics and female enfranchisement. *Wings* only addressed the female vote indirectly and in line with their temperate-only stance. That the WTAU addressed this at all though demonstrates an awareness of the issue, reflecting the wider lives and concerns of its women members. When specific topics or issues were included in a title, it must be assumed that the editor or organisation believed it would have been of interest to the readership. Reform did not take place in a social or political vacuum, regardless of the sole focus of the WTAU. Female readers would have been aware of the debates around female political liberation, and that the magazine addresses this issue at all, albeit still concerned with temperance, is significant. The journal was not only concerned with temperate moral suasion as has been assumed. Indeed, there is no binary distinction, but, rather, temperance reform work within the Union was undertaken in degrees, on a sliding scale. On an ongoing basis, the Union was evaluating what was acceptable and respectable. Notions of acceptable women's work were in flux, and situated within a wider period of societal, political and economic change.⁴¹ The Union, and women within, could take advantage of this flux, adjust work to take account of emerging notions of change and push at the boundaries of acceptable, middle-class feminine behaviour.

Yet, some women involved in the Union were distinctly politically active or agitating in their own right. In May 1900 Miss Finlay approached the executive

⁴⁰ *Wings*, February 1895, p. 21.

⁴¹ Key works to consider this period of change include Best; Roderick Floud and D. N. McCloskey, *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Borsay; Lesley Hall, *Sex, Gender and Social Change in Britain Since 1880* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000); Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*; Prochaska.

committee to ask if the Union would 'petition in favour of a bill to remove women's electoral disabilities'.⁴² The WTAU were asked directly here by a member to support female enfranchisement and work towards securing the vote for women, but on this occasion it 'was felt no action could be taken as a Union'.⁴³ The Union was clearly determined to retain its temperate-only stance and to not be drawn into additional matters. However, the refusal to take part did not deter individual women within the group. Many members were agitating for the removal of the temperance-only clause on an ongoing basis, outlined in chapter one, and now some were apparently campaigning for an end to female disenfranchisement. The Union was at odds with some its women members. It is therefore, questionable why these women chose to oppose the 'do everything' policy and move to the more conservative Union. The reasons for each choice are simply unknown. It perhaps demonstrates the importance of personal and social ties. Yet, their working in other areas of social reform suggests that although they did not want to 'do everything', they did not want to only work on one thing alone. Once again, binary distinctions do not hold.

Yet, official, political messages from the Union were apparently acutely aware of the need for balance. In the third annual report the Union addressed the issue of political platform work stating that the methods used in temperance work 'must be adapted to each locality' and that temperance must be a national movement. There was a tension between the local and the national, as outlined in chapter two and this statement seems to suggest that the Union believed local branches knew best, contrary to the recorded minutes of the executive. Interestingly though, the article considered the mode of this platform work and asserted that it 'is an important part of the business [but] it need not be aggressively irritating or politically one-sided, for by this means our usefulness as philanthropic social reformers is often obscured, and

⁴² WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May 1900.

⁴³ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, May 1900.

we incur abuse which is wholly undeserved.⁴⁴ The Union seems to be afraid that they, and their women members, would receive abuse for undertaking any reform which could be considered political in nature. Women reformers could be seen as potentially transgressive and subject to abuse. Rather, the Union as an entity was seemingly anxious to avoid this, and retain their sole focus on temperance, as well as their respectable reputation.

The WTAU were not solely focused on 'moral suasion' or 'legislative compulsion' as outlined by Harrison, but sent contradictory, and juxtaposed messages to women readers. There were women across the Union who were politically active, both related to temperance and also across other movements. Yet the Union itself, and many within the Union, were content to only work for temperance reform and retain the single issue focus. The boundaries between acceptable feminine reform and political activity became increasingly blurred. There are clear divisions as Union women worked in differing ways, reflecting the diversity and complexity of women's reform work at the time. This diversity can be seen in *Wings*, and particularly in its construction of model temperance women given on the front cover of each issue.

WTAU women

The Union and *Wings* provided a set of codified behaviours for its female readers. This temperate yet gendered construction was reinforced by a monthly case study within *Wings* of a model, temperate woman, whom readers could seek to emulate.⁴⁵ Beetham asserts that the convention of interview was intended to promote the desired mode of femininity through highlighting a positive role model to readers.⁴⁶ She further

⁴⁴ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, p. 37.

⁴⁵ In later years, this front cover case study was interspersed with other articles including travel writing, news of large upcoming events, papers read by Union women at conferences and meetings and articles about the state of the movement more broadly.

⁴⁶ Margaret Beetham and Kay Boardman, *Victorian Women's Magazines: An Anthology* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001) p. 202

states that the interview was a key part of New Journalism practice at the end of the century.⁴⁷ The Union featured these interviews on the front cover of *Wings*, each month giving a prominence to this technique. The importance of this process of constant (re)identification cannot be underestimated.

In 1894, the first year the WTAU was solely in control of the journal, the interviewees were overwhelmingly women of the Union.⁴⁸ Only two were not Union women, Miss Grace Ewart, Mayoress of Brighton in March, and Mrs Theobald of Leicester in December.⁴⁹ Grace Ewart was included as a precursor to a meeting for total abstaining mayoresses which the Union was holding the following month, whilst Mrs Theobald was included as a 'veteran of the crusade'.⁵⁰ The other case studies were of Union members and each emphasised their temperate nature and venerated them as an example of a good Union woman. Many of the case studies took pains to include interesting and unusual details about the interviewee. In February, the profile of the late Mrs George Thomas outlined details of her childhood, recounting a story whereby Mrs Thomas helped to save the family from a robbery in their home. She was staying with her grandfather in Dublin and whilst the 'family were at tea, two men entered the room and demanded that money and plate should be given up to them'. Her grandfather refused, a pistol was pointed at him by the robbers and Mrs Thomas then 'started up and deliberately took the pistol out of his hand, saying "would'st thou kill my grandfather?" She opened the window and gave the alarm'.⁵¹ The article asserted that Mrs Thomas was 'fearless' and her bravery was commemorated. She was held up as an example of a good woman, and her passing was mourned in the piece. In applauding these actions and commending this bravery, the article was

⁴⁷ Margaret Beetham, 'Periodical Writing', in *Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. by Linda H Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 221–35 (pp. 232–33).

⁴⁸ January - Mrs Stewart, hon treasurer of the WTAU; February - the late Mrs George Thomas; March - Miss Grace Ewart, Mayoress of Brighton; April - Mrs Ridge of Stanton Drew; May - Mrs E W Brooks, Hon Sec of the WTAU; June - Mrs W M Atkinson (WTAU Executive); July - Mrs Docwra, of Kelvedon, Vice-President of the WTAU; August - Miss Ellen Webb of Brighton (In Memoriam); September - Mrs W M Mate; October - Mrs Hawkes; November - Mrs Down, of the WTAU executive committee; December - Mrs Theobald of Leicester.

⁴⁹ *Wings*, March 1894, p. 29-30 and *Wings*, December 1894, p. 156-7

⁵⁰ *Wings*, December 1894, pp. 156-7.

⁵¹ *Wings*, February 1894, p. vi.

perhaps demonstrating that Mrs Thomas knew her mind from a young age and that this determination and bravery were necessities for reform work. In another example, in April 1894, the profile took pains to describe a drawing room meeting held by Mrs Ridge. The article stated that the meeting was good but 'when the time for tea came, none appeared'.⁵² When Mrs Ridge investigated she found no tea ready, the fire out, and her cook 'insensible from drink'.⁵³ The article makes much of the fact that soon Mrs Ridge 'was hard at work' making the tea and that this episode shows her 'duty to her tempted sisters' and that her own example 'shone out henceforth clear and bright for the Lord Jesus Christ'.⁵⁴ Here, a specific aspect of behaviour was also venerated, this time showing Mrs Ridge as a hard-working, sensible woman who was not afraid to undertake domestic duties herself when required. Through the case studies specific actions and behaviours were venerated. Women were required to be brave and forthright, as well as domestic and caring. These two examples demonstrate the complex ways in which the Union undertook reform work. They knew that as women leaving the private sphere, they would perhaps encounter difficulty and resistance and needed to be hardened to this. However, they were also aware that they needed to retain their femininity to escape opposition. They had to tread a careful path between essential femininity and the determination to succeed.

At times, the case studies also concerned high-profile, well-known women. Notable women included Mrs H.J. Wilson, WTAU president from 1894-6, and wife of Henry Wilson, MP, Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, president from 1896-7, and Josephine Butler, the well-known social reformer. The balance outlined above, and within Union members more widely, can be seen in the two profiles of Mrs Wilson and Lady Biddulph. Mrs Wilson's case study predominantly focused on her entry into public work in 1871, when she joined Josephine Butler on a speaker's platform. The article

⁵² *Wings*, April 1894, p. 43-44.

⁵³ *Wings*, April 1894, p. 43-44.

⁵⁴ *Wings*, April 1894, p. 43-44.

stated that no other woman would do this as ‘there existed a strong prejudice against the public exposure of immorality and the advocacy of social purity, and, above all, against women taking part in such work’.⁵⁵ The article focused on Mrs Wilson’s work against the C.D. Acts and only on the second page mentioned her temperate stance and that she and her husband did not allow alcohol in their home. The piece considered her speeches at Women’s Liberal Meetings and that ‘she always endeavours to give prominence to the questions of temperance, purity, international arbitration, anti-opium agitation, and other social reforms’.⁵⁶ More was made of Mrs Wilson’s general reform work than her temperate stance, and women were here perhaps inadvertently encouraged to undertake wider reform work. It must be noted though, that this profile was included before the split later that year, so it would be expected that content could include work beyond temperance reform.

In contrast, the profile of Lady Elizabeth Biddulph discussed her temperance work at length. The piece considered Biddulph’s entry into temperance work and her membership of the Good Templars and the Church of England Temperance Society (CETS), demonstrating her commitment to the temperance cause. Lady Biddulph stated that soon after she had taken the pledge she ‘wished for some society where I could become associated with friends agreeing on this *one social reformation* – a perfectly neutral platform’.⁵⁷ Here, even though again this interview took place before the split, Lady Biddulph emphasised her desire to only work on temperance and not on other social reform movements, as considered by Mrs Wilson. Of course, this timing may have been intentional. Even as the split was imminent, Biddulph was asserting her desire to remain a single-issue organisation and perhaps attempting to influence policy by stating this in her interview. At the end of the article, Biddulph asserted her belief that temperance should not be associated with any other cause

⁵⁵ *Wings*, May 1893, p. 193.

⁵⁶ *Wings*, May 1893, p. 194.

⁵⁷ *Wings*, April 1893, p. 181.

and that no other cause should be considered until the work of temperance was complete.⁵⁸ Both women, with differing views on the scope of respectable reform work, moved to the WTAU, rather than remaining in the 'do everything' NBWTA. The profiles were vastly different and yet each woman was venerated as a good example. Through this difference, women readers would have been able to identify which version of feminine reform they agreed with, and work accordingly.

Throughout 1893, the year of the schism, the recurring piece was entitled 'British Women at Home', and these women were firmly set in the domestic space, even as philanthropic, temperate women. Indeed, Beetham asserts that 'the interviews routinely stressed the domestic virtues and womanliness of those interviewed, qualities made more pointed because they were usually conducted in their homes'.⁵⁹ From December 1893 though, the name of the article changed from and varied throughout 1894 between 'Biographical Sketch', 'In Memoriam' and 'Temperance Women at Home'. Three women were the subject of 'Biographical Sketches', two of whom were non Union members, and the third of whom had died. The 'In Memoriam' piece was of a Union member but, obviously, a commemorative piece, whilst the remaining pieces were all 'Temperance Women at Home'. Union and non-Union members were distinctly separate, and identity and construction were dependent on membership of the Union. The change from 'British Women' in 1893 to 'Temperance Women' in 1894 is noteworthy. Even though both were 'at home', the temperate nature of the Union was placed at the forefront of the journal and their single-focus was once again emphasised. From 1895 though, all frontispiece columns were entitled 'biographical sketches' whether the women featured were Union members or not. Interestingly, this change potentially demonstrated to readers that women who were not Union members could still be good women, to be venerated and admired.

⁵⁸ *Wings*, April 1893, p. 181.

⁵⁹ Beetham, 'Periodical Writing', p. 233.

In January 1895, the case-study was Josephine Butler, the well-known social purity worker, and a potentially controversial figure. The article asserted that it would 'present certain sides and features of Mrs Butler's varied experience' and it would not 'deal with the magnificent crusade with which her name has been associated' but would instead discuss her life, temperance work, and religious outlook.⁶⁰ The Union acknowledged Butler's work on social purity as a 'magnificent crusade' and called her a 'remarkable' woman but did not include details of this in the case study. At the outset, it outlined her childhood and subsequent life experience, emphasising her happy marriage and the death of her child, venerating her as wife and mother. Surprisingly, only at a later point was a temperance connection made as she began work amongst the poor in Liverpool, viewing drink as a barrier to improvement. After making this connection, the article concluded by discussing her religious and spiritual influences. In reality, relatively little was made of her temperance work. That the Union would include a complimentary profile of such a controversial figure indirectly advises female readers that Butler was a respectable example of femininity. However, it must be noted that the complimentary and admiring case study was written by Fanny Forsaith, editor of *Wings* and a close friend of Butler.

In February and March 1895, the women featured were, once again, complex constructions of femininity. February highlighted the work of Mrs Gibson, one of the founders of the North Hackney Women's Liberal and Radical Association. The article stated that she was 'a firm believer in women's suffrage' and 'among those who most keenly felt the alteration of the name of our women's society.'⁶¹ Here, a woman who believed in suffrage was featured and the range of femininity within the Union is once again emphasised. In March, a Girton girl, Miss Maynard, was profiled, subsequent mistress of Westfield College.⁶² Beetham states that the Girton Girl was 'a symbol of

⁶⁰ *Wings*, January 1895, p. 1.

⁶¹ *Wings*, February 1895, p. 15.

⁶² For a discussion of Girton College see Rita McWilliams-Tullberg, 'Women and Degrees at Cambridge University, 1862 - 1897', in *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*, ed. by Martha Vicinus (London: Indiana University Press, 1977), pp. 117-45.

the “new” and ‘a deeply ambiguous figure’ and so her inclusion as a woman to be admired is also surprising.⁶³ Female education was encouraged in *Wings* as lectures were provided and instructional pieces included, but the inclusion of a Girton girl is certainly interesting. Such a high level of female education remained contentious, yet Miss Maynard was included on the front cover as a woman to be admired. With regard to traditional gender roles, these two figures alone are rather problematic. Women were shown to work across multiple reform movements, receive a higher-level education and yet still be venerated as respectable women. Reader construction on the frontispiece is complex and demonstrates the breadth of experience within the wider Union.

Fanny Forsaith and Lady Elizabeth Biddulph

As outlined at the outset, this thesis has taken a three-layered methodology to address the complexity of gender identity on the late nineteenth century. For the first layer, an implied readership was considered in chapter three and four, and for the second layer, also in chapter four, this implied readership was contrasted with details of a wide range of Union women. The third and final layer examines specific women more closely, namely, the front cover case studies outlined above, alongside two prominent figures of the Union, Fanny Forsaith, editor of *Wings* from 1894 onwards, and Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, President of the WTAU from 1896-1898. These two women have been selected as high-profile members, indicative of the range of femininity and experience, and demonstrating the progressive and conservative elements within the Union. These two women will be used to illustrate wider issues of respectable reform work for women, public speaking, literature, female employment, and professionalization.

⁶³ Beetham, *A Magazine of Her Own: Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914*, p. 136.

Miss Fanny Forsaith

Fanny Forsaith was born in Royston in Hertfordshire in 1849. Her father was a congregational minister, and her brothers were clerks in a bank and a warehouse. She chose to leave the BWTA and was a founding member of the WTAU. She lived with her parents until her mid-40s, after which she moved in with her brother. She did not marry. Most pertinently for this thesis, she was one of the few Union women to consistently list an occupation in the census.

In 1891 her occupation entry as a public lecturer is fascinating. Next to the entry of 'public lecturer' a pencil entry states 'school'.

Fig 5.1 – 1891 census record for Fanny Forsaith

NAME	AGE	SEX	REL	OCCUPATION
Fanny	42	F	S	Public Lecturer School

Census data was often annotated by clerks whilst additional data could also be added.⁶⁴ For Forsaith, as with Emily Crow in chapter four, it seems that this is the case. Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, entries within *The British Woman's Temperance Journal*, the precursor to *Wings*, allude to Forsaith delivering lectures, speeches and addresses to women members of the BWTA including a 'most forcible address' in Finsbury Park.⁶⁵

Shiman considers the skills involved in, and act of public speaking, and the difficulties in being a female reform worker as she states that:

Even for those with a natural talent for public speaking, there were many techniques essential for a successful platform career to be learned, and rules of public debate to be mastered. Newcomers had to learn the etiquette and traditions of platform work: setting up the

⁶⁴ Higgs, p. 26.

⁶⁵ *The British Women's Temperance Journal*, November 1886, p. 122.

business discussions, proposing resolutions, making amendments,
and so on.⁶⁶

Male workers would have gained most of these skills via education, and further, it would be unlikely that their holding of such skills would be questioned. Hegemonic gender ideology of the nineteenth century would suggest that women holding these skills could be seen to be pushing at the boundaries of accepted gender norms. Women speakers in public were deemed potentially disreputable. But, the Union was concerned that women members had the necessary skills to undertake temperance reform work, and included articles in *Wings* to assist with this. In September 1896, a *Wings* article took readers through 'The laws of debate'. This article was written by 'County Councillor Joseph Mallins, the Grand Chief Templar of England' and was not written specifically for inclusion in *Wings* but rather included after publication elsewhere. There was no mention throughout of women speakers specifically. Its inclusion though provided women with the tools to speak effectively in any sort of meeting or gathering as the article asserted that the rules for debate were the same across 'all administrative and deliberative organisations and public meetings'.⁶⁷ The inclusion of this article, not directly aimed at women, demonstrates that they had to acquire skills in order to be effective reform workers and mount the platform as needed. Interestingly, and also blurring boundaries, the article had a distinctly political tone as the writer considered the difference between speaking in the House of Commons and House of Lords, before going on to take the reader through a 15 point code for speaking and debate within societies. This article was included in *Wings* most likely to ensure that women speaking within WTAU branches and committees adhered to a specific code of conduct. Women were provided with the skills relevant to undertake effective, professional, reform work. The Union did not see themselves as amateurs. They adhered to the codes of conduct for the House of Commons and

⁶⁶ Shiman, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England*, p. 128.

⁶⁷ *Wings*, September 1896, p. 121.

House of Lords. They clearly wanted to undertake their reform work in a distinctly organised and professional manner, debating and speaking in public.

Shiman asserts that 'many ladies were willing to address or attend a private all-female meeting, but would not do so at an open "promiscuous" (mixed) public meeting'.⁶⁸ However, even before the schism in 1893, the BWTA found difficulties in persuading women to speak in public. At an executive meeting in 1877, one branch reported that some of their members 'were thinking of commencing speaking in meetings'.⁶⁹ These were not mixed meetings, per se. Contradictorily to Shiman, the evidence from the BWTA themselves suggests that women were often reluctant to speak even in a female-only environment, and certainly in a mixed environment. Women on a platform were transgressing boundaries of acceptable feminine activities and 'for most English women whose upbringing had taught that it was unnatural to speak out, the psychological barriers against public speaking were great; only a dedicated or very strong-minded woman would do so'.⁷⁰ Yet, Fanny Forsaith recognised the need for women to be able to speak in public and in 1886, she gave a speech at a BWTA meeting entitled 'The work done by our Association' which stated;

If we are to be successful workers (as we all, I am sure, desire to be, not for our own sakes, but for the glory of God) we must be delivered from that miserable cowardice, born of unbelief which so often makes us shrink back from undertaking any offered work with the words 'oh I could not possibly do that'. We like to call this sort of thing by nice names, 'shyness', 'timidity', almost a feminine grace, and our gentlemen relatives take care to foster that delusion. Let us say no more 'I am so weak, I am so nervous, I am this or I am that'. It is not

⁶⁸ Shiman, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England*, p. 112.

⁶⁹ BWTA Executive Meeting minutes, 5 March 1877.

⁷⁰ Shiman, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England*, p. 132.

what I am but what God is. This courage of faith is a totally different thing to the mannishness which some women unfortunately adopt which deservedly excites the ridicule and contempt of sensible men and fills the hearts of good women with shame and sadness. Let us avoid equally self-confident and unwomanly boldness and self-conscious unbelieving cowardice.⁷¹

Forsaith acknowledged the issue of 'feminine grace' and the idea that women should be shy, timid and overly modest. However, she urged women to move beyond this and to believe that they would be able to mount a platform and speak in public. But, she also asserted that some women workers are mannish and overly bold. She warned women against both of these, balancing between the two. Interestingly, she also invoked God to persuade women that they must be successful workers, appealing to them as dutiful and religious women, undertaking quasi-missionary work. Her entry as a public lecturer suggests that she recognised the need for women to mount the platform and that she was happy to be listed as a woman who would do so.

By the end of the century, women mounting the platform and giving speeches had become more commonplace. Prochaska states that changes came about gradually and that women had 'broken down the prejudice against women speakers and made it easier for the less forthright to express themselves in public without fear of obloquy'.⁷² The Union became concerned not only that its women would speak but with what they would say and how they would say it. In July 1899, the Union utilised an increase in popular reading in its attempts to normalise women's public speaking. An article entitled 'reading and public speaking' asserted that public speaking could be improved by reading and specifically reading aloud. It stated that there was a need to change tone and style, to 'sound your words' and 'to turn your attention to the

⁷¹ Fanny Forsaith, 'The work done by our Association', qtd in Shiman, *Women and Leadership*, p. 157-8.

⁷² Prochaska, p. 2.

correct pronunciation of sentences'.⁷³ The article advised *Wings* readers to read aloud, asserting that this would strengthen their public speaking skills. In a further attempt to normalise women speaking in public, *Wings* offered lectures on elocution in September 1899. These were not offered to make women of the Union more ladylike or to ensure that they were well-spoken and well-turned out ladies, but rather because a 'clear enunciation and correct pronunciation of words are qualities too often lacking in speeches on a temperance platform'.⁷⁴ The Union was concerned with elocution because it would affect the effectiveness and impact of the woman speaker and her message. The lectures were to be held at the offices of the Union, 4 Ludgate Hill, delivered by Miss Rutter, and attendees had to pay 6d to attend each lecture. These were done in-house but it was hoped after these initial sessions to arrange a series of lessons from an outside expert 'in the art of speaking and reading clearly and distinctly'.⁷⁵ The Union saw themselves and their members as serious temperance workers, not only as middle-class women with a charitable instinct. Women readers and members were being encouraged to develop skills in order to strengthen and professionalise their reform work. Once women were educated in how to speak, they were encouraged to do this in public. Although the Union encouraged its women to speak in support of temperance, women reform workers gained skills which could be translated to other social reform movements if the woman in question saw fit.

In spite of opting to join the organisation which asserted that it would only work on temperance, Forsaith worked across social reform movements. As well as membership in the WTAU, Shiman asserts that she 'also held membership in the Ladies National Association [for Contagious Diseases Acts] and in a women's suffrage society'.⁷⁶ She was closely linked to one of the most controversial female

⁷³ *Wings*, July 1899, p. 92.

⁷⁴ *Wings*, September 1899, p. 127.

⁷⁵ *Wings*, September 1899, p. 127.

⁷⁶ Shiman, *Women and Leadership in Nineteenth-Century England*, p. 162.

figures of Victorian social reform, Josephine Butler, and her work on contagious diseases.⁷⁷ Social purity work was controversial and Suzanne Rickard asserts that ‘in an ideal Victorian world, respectable women remained ignorant of vice, brothels, gaols or houses of ill-repute. Moving outside of the “proper sphere” to tackle such work was regarded by many as unfeminine behaviour’.⁷⁸ Yet, Forsaith worked with Butler on *The Shield* (1870-1886 / 1897-1900), and *The Dawn* (1888-1896), the latter of which was the mouthpiece of the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice. Forsaith was the named contact for this group at their headquarters, 1 King Street.⁷⁹ Forsaith was paid for her work within the British, Continental and General Federation for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice but also received a salary as editor of *Wings*. Female reform work had become more normalised by this point and Forsaith was able to take advantage of this and receive two salaries for her work. However, this was not necessarily accepted as Jane Jordan states that Forsaith ‘proved a match for the rough mannered Henry Wilson, who at first took objection to her because she received a salary for her work as Secretary’.⁸⁰ Henry Wilson was a Liberal MP from 1885 to 1912 and worked with Butler on the Contagious Diseases acts.⁸¹ He was also the husband of Mrs H. J. Wilson, first president of the WTAU.

It is curious that Fanny, a temperance worker, was involved in social purity work, an extremely controversial cause. The close friendship between the two could be the reason for this, one which was built geographically, in the interconnected world of nineteenth-century London. In the annual report of 1893-4, Forsaith’s given address was 33 Childeburt Road, Balham.⁸² In her biography of Josephine Butler,

⁷⁷ For a biography of Butler and accounts of her work see Jane Jordan, *Josephine Butler* (London: John Murray, 2001).

⁷⁸ Suzanne Rickard, ‘Victorian Women with Causes: Writing Religion and Action’, in *Women, Religion and Feminism in Britain, 1750 - 1900*, ed. by Sue Morgan (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2002), pp. 139–57 (p. 144).

⁷⁹ Post Office London directory, 1895. p.461.

<http://specialcollections.le.ac.uk/cdm/compoundobject/collection/p16445coll4/id/8845/rec/6> [Accessed online 04.11.15]

⁸⁰ Jordan, *Josephine Butler*, p. 268.

⁸¹ M Hewitt, ‘Wilson, Henry Joseph’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/50958?docPos=12> [Accessed 26/04/17]

⁸² *First Annual Report of the Women’s Total Abstinence Union*, 1893-4, p. 6.

Jordan asserts that in 1893, Josephine Butler moved to Balham, then moved away for a short time in 1894, before returning in the autumn of the same year.⁸³ Jordan goes on to assert that the two neighbours not only knew each other but became firm friends:

A near neighbour, at 33 Childeburt Road, Balham, was Miss Fanny Forsaith, the young secretary of the British Committee of the Federation. Fanny was a deeply spiritual woman with whom Josephine felt able to converse intimately, and her letters to Fanny demonstrate Josephine's impressive knowledge of the Scriptures...This new, late friendship was to be a sustaining one for Josephine. She praised Fanny's 'sweet manner', but also her 'stately presence'. Miss Forsaith was an excellent worker (Josephine described her to Stanley [Josephine's son] as a 'vigilant politician').⁸⁴

The two women became friends and worked closely on Contagious Disease reform with Forsaith providing close support to Butler. In *The Dawn*, in 1895, Forsaith was named as the contact for an absent Josephine Butler and it was requested that all correspondence be forwarded to Forsaith.⁸⁵

Links between *The Dawn*, *The Shield*, Forsaith, and Butler are clear but it is perhaps more surprising that Butler appeared in *Wings*, supported and enabled by Forsaith. That such a controversial figure be permitted inclusion in an essentially conservative, respectable title is fascinating. As outlined above, In January 1895, a profile of Butler appeared on the front page of *Wings*, written by Forsaith.⁸⁶ However, although Butler was allowed to appear in *Wings*, the executive were careful to prevent overt links. In an executive committee meeting of March 1897, Forsaith 'wrote on behalf of the Ladies National Association for the Abolition of State Regulation of Vice

⁸³ Jordan, *Josephine Butler*, p. 272.

⁸⁴ Jordan, *Josephine Butler*, p. 268.

⁸⁵ *The Dawn*, May 1895, p. 13.

⁸⁶ *Wings*, January 1895, p. 1-2.

to suggest that the question of the reintroduction of the CD [contagious diseases] acts for India or England should be brought forward at all WTAU meetings and to state that members of the Ladies National Association would be ready to address such meetings if desired'.⁸⁷ This suggestion was rejected outright by the executive, proposed by Lady Biddulph, and seconded by Mrs Atkinson. Biddulph's influence on the executive and wider group will be discussed shortly, but it seems that this statement to the WTAU was part of a larger scheme by Forsaith to attract readers and supporters for the social purity cause. In December 1897, in *Shafts*, a title discussed in chapter one, a notice was included advising readers of the re-establishment of *The Shield*, alongside a note from Forsaith stating that if readers would subscribe to *The Shield* they would be 'advancing the cause of the Federation ... [and] paying for the free presentation of *The Shield* to persons whose opinions may be influenced, but who would not themselves purchase the paper'.⁸⁸ Forsaith was working across social reform movements and had links with potentially disreputable titles. Yet, although Forsaith worked across organisations it may be that she wished to keep the movements separate. However, her actions in 1897 stating that all meetings of the WTAU should consider the CD Acts suggests that this is not the case. Rather, this thesis suggests that Fanny Forsaith was kept under the control of the executive and that the content in *Wings* was often carefully managed by this group in ways that curtailed her editorial independence.

From 1894, Forsaith was editor of *Wings* and her next census entry was updated to reflect this. Her occupation was listed as 'editor of monthly paper'.

Fig 5.2 – 1901 census record for Fanny Forsaith

Francis H. Forsaith	Head	S	48		Daughter Official	Worker
Fanny Do.	Sister	S		52	Editor of Monthly paper	Worker

⁸⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, March 1897.

⁸⁸ *Shafts*, December 1897, p. 350.

Once again though, a further entry was added, this time of 'author'. Barbara Onslow suggests that the most likely route to editorship for women was via success as a novelist.⁸⁹ However, Fanny was not an author as such. She wrote one book, published in 1881 but it is of note that if she saw herself as an author, then this would have been her occupation entry for the previous census in 1891.⁹⁰ Rather, in 1901, it seems that again, a recategorisation of work has occurred.

Beth Palmer discusses the issue of female writing and editorship at length stating that there was an expectation in the Victorian press that the editor figure would be male.⁹¹ She re-examines this assumption, demonstrating that holding an editorship was feasible for women and indeed that some women did hold editorial positions throughout the second part of the century. The most famous example of a female editor is perhaps Annie Swan and her magazine, *Women at Home*. Ballaster et al discuss, with reference to Swan, that often women in positions of authority and control, did not conform to the feminine norm.⁹² Certainly, in listing her occupation as editor, Forsaith set herself aside from positions of traditional female employment. In 1881, only 15 women listed their occupation as 'author, editor or journalist' and although this had risen to 660 by 1891, female editors remained unusual at the end of the century.⁹³

Forsaith remained editor of *Wings* for many years, beyond the scope of this project, but in the 1911 census, her occupation was given as undertaking 'journalistic work, at home'.

⁸⁹ Barbara Onslow, *Women of the Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain* (Basingstoke: Macmillan, 2000), p. 106.

⁹⁰ Fanny Forsaith wrote only one book *A Brave Life: The True Record of George Robert Brown* (1881). It has not been possible to examine this text.

⁹¹ Beth Palmer, 'Assuming the Role of Editor', in *The Cambridge Companion to Victorian Women's Writing*, ed. by Linda H Peterson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), pp. 59–72 (p. 59).

⁹² Ballaster et al, pp. 101–2.

⁹³ Beetham, 'Periodical Writing', p. 225.

Fig 5.3 – 1911 census record for Fanny Forsaith

1	STAND FORTSM	Head	20	Single	-	-	-	-	Relaxed South Maudger 550
2	Fanny Forsaith	Sister	15 60	Single	-	-	-	-	Journalistic Work, at home 48
3

From the 1901 census, an extra column 'if working at home' had been added to attempt to record a person's place of work and this was continued into the 1911 census. However, this 'at home' clarifier was not in this column. This was left blank. Higgs states that 'some enumerators appear to have been less willing than others to regard the work of women as an 'occupation'.⁹⁴ However, the clarifying entry appears, and in the same hand and pen suggesting that it was recorded at the time of the original entry. Forsaith's work had moved to the home.

Rowbotham discusses the rise in 'lady journalists' by the end of the century, asserting they had begun to 'increase in number ... encouraged by the spread of periodical publications, particularly those designed for women'.⁹⁵ The profession was becoming more acceptable. Indeed, the foundation of the 'Society for Lady Journalists' late in the century suggests that this was now a more popular occupation. Yet, it is noteworthy that the entry for Forsaith stated that she was undertaking journalistic work, but not that she was a journalist. In comparison, in the previous entry, she was entered as an editor, not as undertaking editorial work. The reasons for these nuances are unknown but it seems that Fanny moved between categories of work (or at least was recorded as doing so). She was a lecturer, an editor and undertook journalistic work. She worked across respectable and more controversial movements and used the press and the platform to work for change. She is indicative of the more controversial aspects of female work at the end of the century and demonstrates that there were Union women who, although having chosen to move to the temperance-focused organisation, did still work within other areas. The Union was

⁹⁴ Higgs, p. 99.

⁹⁵ Rowbotham, p. 251.

not made up of only traditionally conservative women. Rather, some transgressed boundaries and labels, as potentially problematic women.

Lady Elizabeth Biddulph

Lady Elizabeth Biddulph (1834-1916), was a founding member of the WTAU and president from March 1896 to April 1898. The daughter of the fourth Earl of Hardwick, an Admiral and Conservative politician, Biddulph 'embraced the Tory politics of her father'.⁹⁶ However, in 1860 she married Henry John Adeane, a Liberal MP and 'gradually adopted his principles'.⁹⁷ He died in 1870, and in 1877 she married Michael Biddulph, MP, a Liberal Unionist. She was a member of high society and a member of Queen Victoria's court, as reported in *The Strand Magazine*:

Lady Elizabeth Philippa Biddulph ... was Bedchamber Woman to the Queen from 1873 to 1877, when she was appointed Extra Bedchamber Woman. She has the Royal Order of Victoria and Albert of the Fourth Class.⁹⁸

Before the schism of the BWTA in 1893, Lady Biddulph had assisted with the creation of the Women's Liberal Unionist Association (WLUA), an arm of the party led by the wives of leading liberal unionist MPs.⁹⁹ However, although the formation of a women's association may seem enlightened, the group was divided, in much the same manner as would later befall the BWTA. Some within the WLUA were 'keen to use the WLUA's influence to push for the Party to advocate female suffrage' but in 1891, the organisation declared themselves 'neutral on the issue of female suffrage'.¹⁰⁰ The contentious issue was defused in this instance. However, Lady Elizabeth Biddulph would soon face a similar battle within the BWTA. In 1892, as

⁹⁶ John Powell, *Art, Truth and High Politics: A Bibliographic Study of the Official Lives of Queen Victoria's Ministers in Cabinet, 1843-1969* (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, 1996), p. 117.

⁹⁷ Powell, p. 117.

⁹⁸ 'The Ladies of Queen Victoria's Court', *The Strand Magazine*, July – December 1895, p.194-5 [Accessed via archive.org, <https://archive.org/stream/TheStrandMagazineAnIllustratedMonthly/TheStrandMagazine1895bVol.XJul-dec#page/n275/mode/2up/search/biddulph>, 06.04.17]

⁹⁹ Ian Cawood, *The Liberal Unionist Party: A History* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2012), p. 148.

¹⁰⁰ Cawood, p. 151.

Lady Henry Somerset proposed the adoption of the 'do everything' policy, and the addition of suffrage to the work of the BWTA, Lady Biddulph was most vociferous in opposition. She stated that she was 'bitterly disappointed' and considered it 'most mad, most injurious, to link the movement of woman's suffrage with that of temperance'.¹⁰¹ It is not clear whether Biddulph was anti-suffrage or whether she simply believed that temperance should be treated as a single reform issue. Surprisingly, after the split, Biddulph remained with the NBWTA, albeit Barrow suggests that this was due to her close friendship with Lady Henry.¹⁰² Personal ties and allegiances were clearly of importance, and also seen in Forsaith's relationship with Butler. Yet, the allegiance between Biddulph and Somerset was short-lived and soon afterward, she defected to the WTAU, becoming vice president in 1894.¹⁰³ It seems that her views on suffrage did not match the 'do everything' policy adopted by the NBWTA and she was not able to move beyond this. In December 1895, the WTAU executive committee asked Lady Biddulph whether she would consent to nomination as President of the Union and in March 1896 she accepted the position.¹⁰⁴ Due to her earlier roles, Lady Biddulph came to the Union presidency with previous experience of controversial issues. As Union president, Biddulph was heavily involved in the policy of the Union and her presence influenced the actions of the WTAU, its executive committee and even features included within *Wings*. Even after her presidency ended, she continued to hold sway within the group for many years.

For example, one way she continued to hold sway after her presidency ended is her influence over Union material. In November 1902, Biddulph gave five copies of a book entitled *The Last Earl of Graham* to each of the Union travelling libraries.¹⁰⁵ The Union lending library was established in 1895-6 and branches and members

¹⁰¹ *Internal Minutes of Annual Council Meeting of BWTA*, May 1892, pp. 35-36.

¹⁰² Barrow, 'Temperate Feminists: The British Women's Temperance Association', p. 197.

¹⁰³ *Second Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1894-5, p. 5.

¹⁰⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, December 1895 and WTAU Executive Committee minutes, March 1896

¹⁰⁵ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1902

could pay to lend books for up to three weeks.¹⁰⁶ Although not explicitly stated, it seems likely that the Union lending library and the travelling libraries were variations on the same and that members would be able to borrow literature from the Union. Lady Elizabeth gave books to the Union libraries. It may have been that as a wealthy woman she was able to buy books for the group, and this contribution would have been welcomed. Additionally, later, in early 1903, as the executive committee discussed the travelling library and sought to secure new titles, 'Mrs Yorke kindly promised to see the Lady Biddulph in reference to books'.¹⁰⁷ The following month, the committee received the response that Biddulph had 'gone abroad and cannot select suitable books for a new travelling library until her return. Miss Docwra suggested that a list of books should be prepared and submitted to Lady Elizabeth'.¹⁰⁸ Biddulph was in a position to influence and potentially dictate library holdings. Lady Biddulph clearly had sway over which titles were included and which were not as the executive submitted a list to her for consideration. Even after her presidency, she continued to influence various aspects of the group's activities. During her presidency however, this was often done in more subtle ways.

As outlined in chapter three, in February 1898, the WTAU executive committee discussed an advertisement for a *Book for Ladies* by Dr T.R. Allinson and whether this should appear in *Wings*. It was decided at the meeting that the book 'must not appear' and it was never included.¹⁰⁹ Lady Biddulph was president when this controversial book was discussed and was chair of the meeting in question. The minutes of the executive do not record who made the final decision on the inclusion of the advertisement, if indeed a sole individual did have this power. However, in the preceding and proceeding years, there were several instances where a controversial

¹⁰⁶ *Third Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1895-6, p. 91.

¹⁰⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, January 1903.

¹⁰⁸ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1903.

¹⁰⁹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, February 1898.

subject or affiliations were considered and either postponed or dismissed outright.¹¹⁰ In July 1896, affiliation to SPEW was considered and the subject deferred. Lady Biddulph was not present. In November of the same year, affiliation to the NUWW was raised and again, deferred. Once again, Biddulph was not present. Perhaps unexpectedly, in 1904, Lady Biddulph was chosen to attend the NUWW conference on behalf of the WTAU, alongside Mrs Wilson. However, Mrs Wilson went to the event alone as Lady Biddulph advised the executive committee that she could not attend.¹¹¹ Lady Biddulph was chosen several times after this to attend the NUWW conference, but only in one instance, in 1897 was there a note that Biddulph actually attended the meeting. In the other instances, reports back to the Union committee were given by other attendees and no note of Biddulph attending or speaking was ever given again. This thesis suggests that Biddulph may have been willing to work informally alongside other groups but would not allow formal affiliation to potentially controversial groups to be completed. Biddulph was present at the meeting where Forsaith proposed that the issue of the CD Acts should be brought up at each WTAU meeting and it was Biddulph who proposed that this idea was rejected outright, before being seconded by another member.¹¹² In meetings where potentially controversial subjects were simply rejected Lady Biddulph was present, whereas where no decision was made and/or the subject was subsequently postponed for future discussion, she was not in attendance. As president and beyond, Biddulph influenced the policy of the group and ensured that it retained its single-issue, more respectable focus. It seems that other members within the group were more open in their personal support for other reform movements, and that Biddulph was a conservative guiding force for the Union.

Biddulph's conservatism also took into account ideals of gender and respectability. At the WTAU annual conference 1896, Mrs Whittaker gave a paper on

¹¹⁰ See chapter one for discussion of Union affiliation and chapters two and three for discussion of material included in *Wings*.

¹¹¹ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, June 1904.

¹¹² WTAU Executive Committee minutes, March 1897.

'business houses and the supply of non-intoxicants to their abstaining employees'.¹¹³ Subsequently a letter was presented to the executive committee in November, prepared by the same Mrs Whittaker, to be sent to principals of business establishments. The executive committee 'generally approved' of the letter and moved to ask Lady Biddulph to sign it, as president of the Union.¹¹⁴ Clearly, the executive saw no potential difficulties with this as they discussed using autograph blockers for mass signing and asked that estimates be secured for the printing of 3,000 and 5,000 copies respectively.¹¹⁵ The executive received a response from Lady Biddulph that she 'objected to her signature to be appended unless a much amended letter was adopted'.¹¹⁶ The content of the letter is unknown but the executive were more willing here to take direct action and write to business owners. A female group writing to male business owners, and asking them to amend their practice could be deemed to be transgressing appropriate feminine norms. Indeed, it crosses the boundary of moral suasion and moves into direct action. Lady Biddulph's refusal, when seen in conjunction with her other refusals/actions, discussed above, seems overtly conservative. The letter was redrafted and discussed by the executive throughout December and was also sent to the general committee for their consideration. The general committee were specifically asked their opinion on whether members in provincial societies would think this was a suitable activity. In May 1897, two members, Mrs Terrell and Miss Copland were asked to draft a new version of the letter but this was not presented to either committee. The issue was abandoned until October 1897 whereby the executive learned that 1,159 orders for the letter had been received, presumably from the provincial branches/members and as a result they decided to 'at once publish the letter'.¹¹⁷ The letter was made available as rank and file members and provincial branches wanted this. The branches were

¹¹³ *Fourth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union*, 1896-7, p. 20.

¹¹⁴ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1896.

¹¹⁵ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1896.

¹¹⁶ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, November 1896.

¹¹⁷ WTAU Executive Committee minutes, October 1897.

more willing to undertake direct action. The availability of this letter was publicised in the annual report the following year and members were alerted to the letter as 'bearing the signatures of the president and hon. secretary' which 'respectfully' asked principals of business houses to 'provide non-intoxicating beverages for their abstaining employees of both sexes'.¹¹⁸ Unfortunately, the letter has not survived and so the content is unknown, but as the president had agreed to sign the letter, it seems that an amended version was published and available for circulation.

Lady Elizabeth Biddulph is representative of a conservative arm of the Union, although it appears that she was even more cautious than most of the executive and wider membership. She had previous experience of controversial issues and in spite of personal ties to Lady Somerset, she joined the Union. This thesis suggests that after the controversy with Lady Somerset, the Union sought a conservative president and thus Biddulph was appointed. However, it seems that Biddulph was perhaps more conservative than some in the Union may have wished. She rejected controversial subjects and affiliations outright. Some affiliations were simply deferred as Biddulph was not present in executive meetings where these were raised. It seems that many within the Union were more willing to undertake direct action than Biddulph. Forsaith on the other hand, is indicative of more progressive elements of the group. She chose to move to the more conservative Union rather than remaining with the NBWTA, but subsequently worked across movements, both in temperance and social purity. She used the pen and platform as campaign tools, yet at times was seemingly still concerned with gender ideals. She was not a radical character. This balance between progressivism and conservatism within the Union is indicative of female work more broadly. Throughout the century women made strides in leaving the private sphere, but not all women who did this were radical. Rather, the quiet majority, women who left the domestic realm to undertake philanthropy, charity and employment, were

¹¹⁸ *Fifth Annual Report of the Women's Total Abstinence Union, 1897-8*, p. 36.

the ones who steadily pushed at the boundaries of acceptable, middle-class, feminine respectability, opening up opportunities and changing the parameters of the Woman Question.

Conclusion

In 1892, Lady Elizabeth Biddulph proposed ‘that it is most undesirable, and indeed inadvisable to join women’s suffrage to the work of the BWTA’.¹ The majority of the Association disagreed with Lady Biddulph and it was voted that the BWTA would work on temperance along with other areas of social reform including suffrage and social purity. Key members broke away and the WTAU were subsequently founded on this disconnection. This thesis has explored the Union, a previously neglected group, and their periodical *Wings*, an unexplored journal, to consider the networks, contradictions, and complexities involved in female reform work at the end of the nineteenth century. It has argued that women’s work, groups, journals, and women themselves can be considered as disrupting the dichotomies of radical and conservative.

The spirit of disconnection on which the Union was founded could not endure in the connected world of the late nineteenth century. Although the group opted not to co-locate with other, similar, female reform groups, they remained in London, the centre of the social reform and publishing worlds. Moreover, despite the emphasis on single issue campaigning, the group were connected within reform work more broadly. They worked within the wider temperance movement, and also affiliated to other female reform groups such as the NUWW and SPEW. These affiliations were listed in the financial records of the Union, although the precise nature of these relationships is unknown, and discussion over whether to affiliate at all was unusual and guarded. The executive committee avoided the issue, often postponing discussions but then never returning to them. This thesis argues that in spite of the moment of schism appearing to be a decisive break, the Union underwent a series of negotiations as it found its place within the wider reform world. It initially undertook discreet co-working before later moving to open affiliation. Yet, the Union was also an

¹ Sixteenth Annual Report of the British Women’s Temperance Association, 1891-2, p.79.

affiliatory body in its own right as branches from around the country federated to the group to undertake temperance work. Branches undertook work in their local areas under the national banner of the WTAU. The Union managed to be both local and national.

It is impossible to consider the WTAU without analysing *Wings*, the official organ of the group. Harrison states that 'only a national periodical could raise the [temperance] movement above petty local concerns, and fruitfully draw together the contrasting experiences of different localities and social groups'.² Although Harrison was discussing reform groups more widely, this is particularly pertinent for the WTAU. He goes on to state that the 'pressure-group periodical experienced a tension between the need to hearten the activist and the need to enlighten the unconverted'.³ As the periodical of the WTAU, we might expect *Wings* to be primarily concerned with official Union business and the subject of temperance. However, after undertaking a contextual examination of the late-century periodical marketplace, it is clear that *Wings* included aspects from several other genres. It contained features found in general entertainment periodicals, fashion titles, magazines aimed at children, and the wider social and cultural reform press. *Wings* was a hybrid journal. It was not solely concerned with the serious work of temperance reform but also included features concerned with the wider lives of its women readers.

Determining the success of a Victorian periodical is complex. Many had very short life spans – sometimes just a few weeks – and only gained limited readerships. For a pressure group periodical like *Wings*, success is not only measured in commercial terms. The Union sought to ensure that the journal was widely read and the inclusion of the lifestyle features outlined above can be seen as an attempt to increase their readership and, subsequently, their membership. However, attempts to increase readership are clearly linked with availability and commercial success.

² Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', p. 285.

³ Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', p. 284.

The Union was concerned with increasing circulation and sought to ensure that *Wings* was as widely available as possible. They left copies of the journal in public libraries and encouraged readers to ask for it at railway station bookstalls. However, although the *DNCJ* asserts that *Wings* had a particularly wide circulation, this thesis argues that this was not the case.⁴ The sales income from *Wings* suggests that the journal had a circulation of approximately 4,000 copies per month.⁵ Compared to circulation figures for the late-century, this is a fairly low figure. It must be noted of course, that circulation figures are not equivalent to reader numbers, and *Wings* may have had a higher readership than this. Nevertheless, the paper was not a commercial success and consistently cost the Union more to produce than it created.

Yet, as stated, the issue of success is complex, and commerciality is not the only measure. Harrison asserts that the pressure-group periodical had three main functions: to inspire, to inform, and to integrate.⁶ A desire to convert the unconverted, or integrate, can be understood as a potential reason for diversification and for including features from across genres. However, *Wings* was certainly more successful with regard to inspiration and information. The journal created a space whereby the actual membership could unify and interact, publicise events and disseminate ideas. It bridged geography and created a closer community of activism and support. Women could share experiences and garner inspiration from the knowledge that Union women across the country were working for the same cause. *Wings* functioned both as a periodical space but also as an emotional support, a source from which women could take sustenance and encouragement. White asserts that, at the end of the nineteenth century, a change occurred in the women's press and that communication was no longer just between editors and readers, but that the periodical became a place of communication between 'women all over the country, a

⁴ Ayres, p. 618.

⁵ *Wings* was 1d per month. Approx – £204 x 240d = 48,960d pa. Divide 12 months = 4080d per month.

⁶ Harrison, 'Press and Pressure Group in Modern Britain', p. 282.

reflection of an undercurrent of social change'.⁷ *Wings* was a space in which debates about the private and public collided, where women were shaped both as reforming creatures, of both political and moral means, but also as gendered domestic beings, wives and mothers.

This domestic shaping is evident in advertisements within *Wings*, as well as editorial content. Digitisation has preserved advertisements and *Wings* can be 'read' in its entirety. Adverts within the magazine show that women were expected to be responsible for their home, its smooth running and appearance, as well as their own appearance, their health, and that of their family. They were gendered beings, domestic managers. The Union had at least some control over advertisements included in the journal and therefore these can potentially be read as indicative of a desired membership. As a result, the woman constructed by the Union through its advertisements was perhaps what the group saw as an idealised Union woman - feminine and domestic. The Union chose to veto advertisements, some on temperate grounds, whilst others were more concerned with respectability. Controversial topics such as rational dress and contraception were avoided. However, interestingly, the Union did allow the inclusion of an advertisement for an abortifacient. Adverts within *Wings* demonstrate a contradictory construction of readership. Women were positioned as having intrinsic weaknesses but also as authorities. Through the advertisements in *Wings*, the Union constructed its readers in complex and contradictory ways.

This can also be seen in editorial content. This project adopted a three-layered methodology in order to consider the issue of construction, comparing an implied audience, created via journal content, with the actual details of some Union officers. As discussed throughout, this sample size is extremely small and thus it is acknowledged that the details found are likely unrepresentative. However, as we

⁷ White, *Women's Magazines 1693-1968*, p. 77.

often have no details about readership and/or membership, it would remiss to ignore this available evidence completely. Therefore, these two layers provided some interesting findings, and it is clear that the construction created by the journal does not reflect the complexity of the Union women located. The journal constructed its women readers predominantly as wives and mothers, with servants and a home to oversee. Engagement announcements were included in *Wings*, marriage was celebrated, and women were further appealed to as mothers throughout, with a wide variety of content concerned with the raising of children. Yet, when compared to the population more widely, the sample suggested that married women were underrepresented in the officers of Union. In spite of this though, the majority of Union women located were married, demonstrating a conformity to the expected norm. When considering motherhood though, the issue is perhaps more complex. Just under half of the women located had no children living at home with them. These childless women were traced back as children may have left home already, and it was discovered that the overwhelming majority did not have children at home at an earlier point either. Many of these Union women may not have had children at all, going against gendered expectation. Women were constructed finally as domestic managers with a home to oversee and servants to manage. Almost three quarters of Union women located had at least one live-in domestic servant and their position as household manager and employer was clearly fulfilled. Yet, the employment status of these this sample is also of note. Only four married women declared an occupation and it is questionable whether two of these indeed were actually married. Single women found were more likely to list an occupation but, even here, most did not. Reform work was evidently not classed as an occupation per se.

Some women were employed by the Union and this in itself raises some interesting issues. While the Union was financially precarious and often relied on bail-outs from wealthy members to fund its activities, the women it employed were well-paid and often received unrequested pay rises. The lack of financial frugality suggests

that they were potentially a sort of 'jobs for the girls' organisation. The women of the Union were not financially incompetent but rather were more concerned with maintaining appearances. The Union could not fail – the reputation and respectability of senior Union members depended on it.

Therefore, the activities of the group are also intriguing. Although the temperance movement emanated from both the working and middling classes, by the end of the century it was a firmly respectable, middle-class activity. Temperance reform was positioned as moral duty and women were able to take part in the movement, as an extension of their domestic duties, responsible for the morality of their family. In his account of the movement, Harrison asserts that temperance reform was segregated into either moral or political methods.⁸ Political agitation for women was still considered unbecoming, and this thesis suggests that one of the reasons for the schism of 1893 was that Union women did not want to take part in more controversial, political activities such as suffrage. Rather, in line with expectations of respectability and reputation, it would be anticipated that the Union would only undertake moral reforming activities such as visiting and persuasion. Although the group did undertake work such as this, they also began to blur the boundaries of respectable reform work. They undertook traditionally domestic activities such as running a refreshment tent, alongside more controversial activities such as attending Brewster sessions and petitioning parliament. The Union concerned itself, at least on the surface, with the respectable issue of temperance whilst addressing controversial issues with care and discretion, or even steering away from them completely. Their tentative political engagement demonstrates that there were different degrees and forms of political involvement, which are not captured in Harrison's binary distinction. The activities of the group were not solely moral nor solely political. They undertook work which was instead morally political.

⁸ Harrison, *Drink and the Victorians*, p. 19.

As part of their work, the Union sought to ensure that women had the necessary skills to undertake reform activities. They provided members with advice on debating and public speaking, as well as an awareness of wider political issues. Members were encouraged to speak up and mount the platform. In speaking at meetings and conferences, women were given opportunities to utilise the skills that they had gained through classes and lectures organised by the Union and via *Wings*. Women of the Union were provided with quasi-masculine skills, likely to ensure that as reformers they were taken seriously.

Although there were conservative women in the Union, there were also those who were less concerned with reputation. Lady Elizabeth Biddulph and Fanny Forsaith are indicative of the breadth of membership of the Union. One was a conservative woman, concerned with reputation and respectability, whilst the other was a single woman, working in a professional capacity, across multiple, often controversial movements. Yet, they both chose to move to the WTAU, rather than remain in the NBWTA. The influence of personal ties and social links cannot be underestimated here. However, they are representative of a wider issue within the Union. The membership of this group, and indeed the group itself, cannot be categorised as only conservative, or only progressive.

In recent years, the ideology of separate spheres has been re-examined, reassessed, and shown to be overly simplified. Yet, in spite of this re-examination, there remains a tendency to oversimplify other areas of Victorian gender ideology. Stereotypically, women are considered as being either conservative, respectable, and domestic, or to be radical, masculine, and public. If a woman left the private sphere she has been seen to be somehow radical. Yet, in undertaking reform work, many women left the private space and remained conscious of their own respectability and reputation. In this instance, they perhaps left the domestic, private realm with one foot only. Temperance reform provided the Union with a balance – the movement was respectable and so the women working within it were seen largely in the same

manner. There is a complexity in women's work, respectable reform and middle-class femininity that show it is disingenuous to categorise the Union as only conservative or the women within as only progressive. Rather, they operated in a grey area, pushing at traditional boundaries without fully transgressing them. In forming and joining this Union, women were undertaking an implicitly political action. Groups were unable to escape the question of women's social and political roles and a federation of groups was intrinsically political. Yet, as demonstrated throughout this thesis, this politicism was balanced with the domestic, moral, and respectable.

The WTAU were not unusual in this regard. Rather, this thesis argues that their experiences are representative of the complexities also in play across other female reform groups throughout the century. Traditional gender roles dictated a balance between the respectable, conservative and the more progressive. Within conservative and/or radical groups, and each group in-between, there is complexity largely unacknowledged; a quiet majority of women who must be rediscovered. The reality of women's work throughout the century is one of nuance. Female groups and women workers were professional *and* amateur, conservative *and* radical, moral *and* political. This thesis proposes that female organisations and the women within them can be placed on a sliding scale. Some were more progressive, some were certainly more conservative. This graduation can be scaled upwards to encompass wider female reform work and groups throughout the second part of the nineteenth century. Even within overtly radical female groups, some women would indeed, be overtly radical, but there would also have been women who were more conservative. In overtly conservative groups, there would be women ranging from the conservative to the more progressive. The WTAU can be mapped onto a scale such as this, alongside the women within. The Union as a group certainly veers towards conservatism, alongside Lady Elizabeth Biddulph, for example. However, Fanny Forsaith for instance, would be placed toward the more progressive. Female reform work should be seen in scales of graduation and women's groups and women plotted upon this.

This is, alas, too large an undertaking for the scope of this work, but a potential avenue for further research, and this task would hopefully go some way to uncovering and understanding the complexities involved in female reform work more broadly, in the long fin de siècle.

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